695 602 •613 671 untruthfulness and he loses his claim. According to the 'awaiyid, the number of supporters required in a homicide or wounding case is fifty; in a case involving the rightful ownership of land or a well the required number is twenty-five; in a case of conflicting claims over a camel, five relatives must swear in support of the claimant; and in matters concerning smaller animals, such as sheep, the number of supporters will depend upon the number and price of the animals. But, of course, the number of supporters will always be relative to the size of the groups involved, and so the 'awaiyid is not always followed to the letter of the law.

695 (692) The time and place of the oath is fixed by the 'awaaqil adjudicating the given case. It is administered either at the tomb of a "holy man," or at the mosque in Marsa Matruh, and always on a Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. There is a standard text to the oath and this is given in the instructions of the 'awaaqil to the litigants. 695 784 The Bedouins, with few exceptions, believe in the effectiveness of the oath of God. The rationale is that no man is willing to lie and suffer the wrath of God. The curse which results from a "bad oath" usually takes the form of an accident or misfortune to the swearer or a member of his family. The Bedouins believe that divine sanction operates not only against the one who makes a bad oath, but also against the one who bears false witness against another and causes him to take the oath.

634 of little significance in the authority structure. Very few
554 people of the al-Qasr area have had any contact with these
634 officers, and very few want any contact. On the other hand,
554 the direction of change in al-Qasr and the bureaucratic growth
178 of the government in the Western Desert makes it likely that
all Bedouins will be drawn into the total authority structure,
and that the roles of *'umda* and *shaikh* will expand. These
roles will not increase in terms of traditional prestige and
status, but they may gain the authority which they do not possess
now. This is in view of the fact that the traditional authority
structure remains relatively intact. The *'umda* and the
shaikh have no traditional basis of authority, so they cannot
make decisions which are morally binding for Bedouins of al-
634 Qasr at this time. It is obvious, of course, that the *'umda*
635 may refer to the Governor, and even the use of governmental
554 force, as the basis of his legitimacy. But this has never
178 happened. The incumbent *'umda* is still a Bedouin, and this
prevents him from challenging the traditional ways. Also,
the Governor is concerned with restricting the *'umda's*
influence not increasing it.

634 I do not mean to imply that there is, or will be, a
613 struggle for power between traditional authority represented
178 by the *'aqila* and modern legal authority represented by the
578 *'umda*. Such a struggle could not actually occur since when,
and if, the *'umda* came to represent authority in a newly

619 Awlad Ali themselves are divided into three major sections: Ahmar
173 (the Reds); Abiad (the Whites); and Senenah. Each of these sections is referred to as "tribe" and sometimes "tribes." The first two major sections, those of Ahmar or the Reds and Abiad (Whites), are named after their mothers, the wives of Ali (founder of Awlad Ali). The Whites are named after their white mother, and the Reds after their Sudanese mother who, owing to her dark complexion, was known as El-Hamra (the red one).

613 In the past, writers such as Robertson-Smith (1903) have inter-
114 preted the reference to female names in patrilineal genealogies as in-
551 dicating an earlier matrilineal descent. I tend to agree with a more
[595] recent writer, E. Peters (1959), who explains the reference to female ancestors by two factors: patrilineal descent and polygyny. According to him, it is a way of distinguishing full brothers from half brothers and a means to show this genealogically. "The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves a sense to enforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name . . . is that it is symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level." (p.29).

613 This can be further supported by evidence from my own data which
551 show that reference to female names occur more frequently in charts
173 where tribal names rather than proper names are used. In genealogies
619 using proper names, informants rarely, if ever, trace their descent to an ancestress. But when charts of tribal names are used, it is not

613 uncommon to find reference to female names. This indicates that it is
551 only when the unity of the full brothers becomes politically signifi-
173
619 cant that the name of the mother rather than the name of the father is
used. This may explain why the occurrence of female names in Awlad Ali
[595] genealogies is not as common as one might expect judging from the fre-
quency of polygynous marriages among the group.

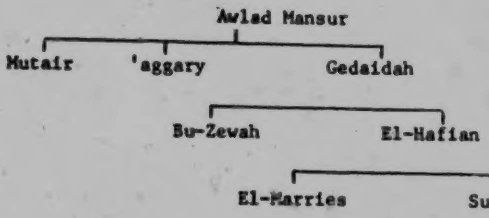
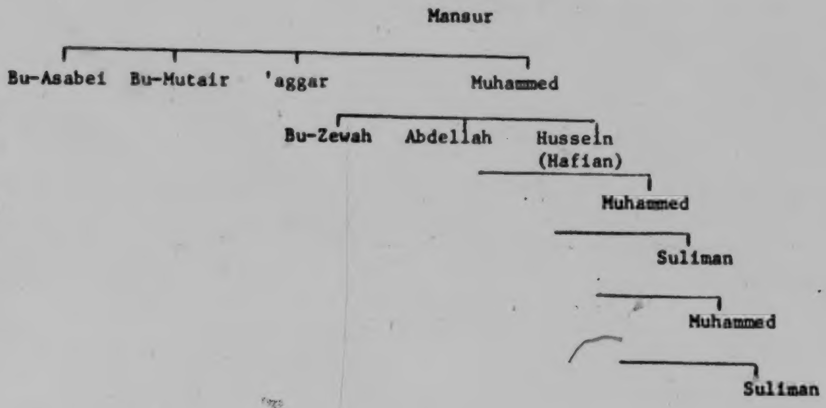

Awlad Mansur
Mutair
'aggary
Gedaidah
Bu-Zewah
El-Hafian
El-Marries
Suliman

Fig. 3. Recognized tribal segments of Awlad Mansur (a segment of Awlad Ali)


Mansur
Bu-Asabei
Bu-Mutair
'aggar
Muhammed
Bu-Zewah
Abdellah
Hussein
(Hafian)
Muhammed
Suliman
Muhammed
Suliman

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551 The two charts show the same unit of Awlad Mansour. The first of the two charts shows the tribal segments in which Eilat Gedaida (a female name) appears as one of the segments. When the actual genealogical chart of one of the living members of that segment was drawn, descent was traced to Mohammed, the husband of Gedaida, as shown on the second chart. In this case Gedaida is not a member of Awald Mansour segment. The unity of the full brothers is emphasized without changing the affiliation of the segment. It is simply a means of carrying on the patriline using the mother's name. This is not always the case, however. Examination of other cases in which the female name was used reveals the fact that in certain instances using the female name is a means of carrying on the line of descent through a daughter. This meant incorporating within the tribal segment a whole group of individuals who otherwise would have belonged to a different patriline.

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597 Carrying the line through the daughter in this manner has the same result as adopting her husband unto the tribe. The question then is why wasn't adoption used. Examination of the two cases in which this happened indicates that a possible explanation may be that this occurs whenever the husband is unadoptable. Adoption is possible whenever a man does not have any tribal affiliation.

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554 In one of the two cases the husband belonged to the Gemei'at tribe, a Murabiteen tribe which enjoys a relatively higher status than the other Murabiteen tribes by virtue of their being the original settlers of the area and helping the Awald Ali in their fight with the Hanadi, yet compared to Awlad Ali proper occupies an inferior position. In this case, relating to the patriline of the mother carried with it a

613 definite political advantage. In the second case in which the female
619 name was used, the husband was a member of the Bara'asa tribe of Libya.
551 Although this tribe is one the powerful tribes of Libya, it has no
597 554 political influence in the Egyptian Western Desert. Changing affiliation carried with it the strong political support of the mother's tribal segment.

619 In general the Reds occupy the western half of the coastal area of
131 the Western Desert from the town of Matruh westward to the Libyan border, while the Whites occupy the eastern part which stretches to Alexandria. The Senenah are fairly scattered although their largest concentration is located in the extreme western part overlapping that of the Reds. The territorial division of the area among the three major sections of Awlad Ali is not a strict one. Historical evidence shows that there has been
[194] a considerable tribal displacement throughout the area. This displacement occurred mainly during the intratribal war era and during the Second World War when the area was a main battlefield. In general, however, there is a significant relationship between territorial distribution and tribal segmentation, and this is especially true on the higher levels of segmentation than on the lower ones.

619 Each of the three sections of the apex of a three-tiered order of
613 segments which, following the native usage, will be called Kabila (tribe), Eila (family), and Bait (house).

619 The first order referred to as tribes are structurally equivalent
173 units but of highly variable size. Each of them has its traditional history. Some of these histories are important to the tribe as a whole.

619 groups were expected to help. For these reasons the Sa'adi tribes com-
619 peted and even fought among themselves for the newcoming Murabiteen
721 groups which continued to migrate into the area, escaping the strong
dominance of the Cyrenaica Bedouins..Many of the major tribal wars which
occurred in the area before the turn of the century had as their major
cause the competition over the Murabiteen.

619 As a vassal group the Murabiteen tribes are kept in an inferior
778 position. This inferiority has certain manifestation, the most obvious
184 of which is the deprivation of the Murabiteen of the right of "nazala"
682 or refuge. When a person is killed the killer and his kin unit seek re-
778 fuge at a neutral tribal segment, and for a period of twelve months they
● 613 are safe from the revenge of the victim's kin group. The victim's family
[871] cannot follow them to the refuge place, for to do this is to violate one
of the basic principles of Awlad Ali law. The philosophy behind the rule of "nazala" is to give time for "the blood to cool off" as one of the informants described it. It also gives the host group a chance to start immediate negotiations with the victim's group to settle permanently the dispute. As soon as the murderer's group takes refuge, which is done either by moving along with their tents and flocks and settling in the locality of the host group or symbolically by having the head of the host group send one of his sons or male relatives to pitch his tent in the locality of the murderer's group, the head of the host group contacts the victim's group, informs them that he has been chosed by the murderer's group in accordance with the right of nazala, and asks for their permission to grant his protection to the murderer's group. To ask for the permission of the victim's group is a matter of formality since, by custom, they cannot refuse to grant this permission except on one single ground:

682 778 • 613 if the host group is genealogically close enough to the murderer's group as to be themselves part of the vengeance group. As soon as the permission is granted the head of the host group starts negotiations on behalf of the murderer. Since the basic reason for the nazala is to avoid the direct confrontation between the two opposing groups, the first task of the negotiations is to define which places and markets each group can go to during the year of the nazala. Once this has been agreed upon, the difficult task of settling the dispute begins. The success or failure of the negotiations depends on the skill of the negotiator and the weight his tribal segment has in the area. This makes it of extreme importance for the murderer to select the tribal segment which can affect such a settlement. In cases where the host group is not particularly powerful, the victim's group pretends to agree to a settlement in order to have the murderer and his group leave the locality of the host group and then takes revenge by killing the murderer. This cannot happen when the host group is powerful, since such an action would automatically make the host group enemies of the victim's group.

619 184 778 682 With very few exceptions which will be dealt with later, the right to offer refuge is limited to the Sa'adi tribes. No Murabiteen tribe can grant refuge to a murderer, although they themselve can seek refuge at a Sa'adi tribal segment if one of them is involved in murder.

619 184 [682] [582] Another less conspicuous manifestation of the inferior position of the Murabiteen relative to the Sa'adi is the fact that the bloodmoney for the Murabit is two-thirds that for the Sa'adi man. Also, until very recently, marriage of a Sa'adi to a member of the Murabiteen tribes was considered by the Sa'adi as a very poor choice and was discouraged.

619 The picture was reversed then with the poor Sa'adi shepherds becoming
184 the masters, acquiring great wealth and prestige because of their fight-
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792 ing ability, and the holymen becoming the shepherds and clients of the
Sa'adi fighters. Inthe old inter-tribal wars, the Murabiteen stood a
[651] very limited chance so the Sa'adi tribes adopted them and in return for
a yearly tribure guaranteed theprotection of the Murabiteen from external aggression.

As time passed, the main difference between the Sa'adi and Murabiteen tended to diminish. One or two outstanding Murabiteen tribes fought their own battles without seeking the protection of the Sa'adi and remained independent, while a few others rose up and fought on with the protector against a common foe (the case of the Gemei'at tribe is an example) and in return were emancipated from the stigma of serfdom and accepted by the Sa'adi as almost equals. Other Murabiteen tribes remained attached to their Sa'adi protector as client groups.

Ibn Khaldoun also saw the inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes as stemming from a mode of tribal relations adapted to inter-tribal warfare (1845).

● 613 **The Eila**

The Eila represents the next level of tribal segmentation among the Awlad Ali. The Eila is the most important political unit. Although the Eila lacks any formally recognized leadership, its importance stems from the fact that it constitutes the vengeance group or Ámar El-Dam (unity of
613 the blood). This means that it bears a corporate responsibility for the
672 actions of its members. Anyone of its members can be killed in vengence
682 for a homocide committed by any other, and the duty of revenge for any

613 member falls on all members alike, regardless of the exact genealogical
672 relationship to the victim. When bloodmoney is to be paid, its members
682 pay it as a group, divided among all male adults; and although when they
receive it, a bigger portion goes to the nearest agnates of the victim,
the remainder is distributed equally among all its members.

613 The genealogical depth of the Eila is usually five generations.
This is not always true, however, In certain instances the number of
generations intervening between the founder of the Eila and its living
members is nine or even ten. Naturally, the more generations the larger
the size of the Eila. Sometimes the Eila becomes so numerous that it is
[217] hard to keep records of all members who are supposed to share in the payment of the bloodmoney in a specific case. When the size of the Eila
reaches this point, one of two things may happen. The first is an attempt
to make lists of the members. Many of the Eilas have such lists. This
613 is usually accompanied by a tendency toward writing down the specific
675 rules and regulations of the vengeance group. These lists are referred
to as Amar papers. They constitute a formal statement of an otherwise
informally recognized responsibility of the group for certain actions of
its members. The other is a tendency toward the fission of one or more
of its constiuent units which, after separation, establishes itself as
an independent Amar. The factors underlying this process of fission are
discussed in the next chapter.

[539] The following is an example of an Amar paper, that of the Eilat
Aggary, which was put into effect in 1954.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE FORGIVER

● 613 675 539 The following Awaqil (sing. aqila, the leader of a bait) representing the various "buite" (sing. bait, the tribal segment below the level of eila) of the Aggary Family were witnesses to the treaty and their signatures signify their commitment and that of their respective buite to the content of this agreement.

(a list of the various awaqil)

The above signing awaqil agreed unanimously on the content of the document and all the conditions included. No objection by any of the above persons was noted at the meeting.

Article 1:

The content of this document should be kept as a secret of the Aggary Family. It constitutes the Aggary Amar in accordance with the customs and the Daraieb of Awlad Ali. The content of the document should be revealed only at the request of both parties of a dispute which involves a member of the Amar.

Article 2:

[627] Peace should exist between members of the Amar. No secret grudges or open disputes should be permitted between them. In case such an unfortunate situation exists, the other non-involved members of the Amar should intervene between the disputants, try to solve the dispute, and prevent it from damaging the solidarity of the Amar. They should investigate the facts of the case and force the guilty party to compensate his brother (the wronged party) without giving the former a chance to object.

Article 3:

[681] When the Amar is called upon because of obligation involving the payment of money, all the Awaqil should meet and decide the amount of money that should be collected from each Bait of the Aggary Family. It becomes then the responsibility of each Aqila to collect the amount from his Bait.

Article 4:

[681] [885] The share of each Bait is based upon the number of "Sayems", (literally, "fasting males", which is interpreted to mean 15 years of age or over), regardless of whether or not they have a source of income for themselves. The share of those without means of their own is distributed among the other members of the Bait.

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675 Each Aqila is responsible for submitting to the Amar a list of the
539 Sayems in his bait, and this will be the basis for establishing the
[681] share of the bait in payment or receipt of the money.

[885] **Article 5:**

No Aqila can act on any matter involving loss or gain to the Amar without the presence of the other Awaqil of the Amar, unless an urgent matter occurs in which waiting for the rest of the Awaqil might jeopardize the interest of the Amar. In such cases the Awaqil present can act on behalf of the Amar as a whole.

Article 6:

[672] [673] The following acts should not involve the Amar as a whole and the offender is considered individually (or with his own Bait) responsible for them:

1. Theft and cheating.
2. Insult or disrespect of a younger member of the Amar to an older person whether from the Amar or not.
3. Entering someone's tent or home without permission.
4. Seduction of women (including rape and adultery).

[681] In all the above cases the individual has to bear the responsibility for his own actions. For to let the Amar pay for him in such circumstances is to encourage him and other such members of the Amar to commit more of such acts and bring disgrace to the Amar. If the offender is unable to pay for his crime, his nearest male kin should pay for him in accordance with the Awlad Ali Daraieb. Such payments are considered as personal debts which the offender has to pay back as soon as he is financially able.

Article 7:

[627] When an older person does injustice to a younger one, the latter should take his complaint to the Aqila of his own bait. The Aqila in turn should take the matter up with the Aqila of the older man or to all the awaqil of the Amar if the matter is serious enough. The awaqil must assess the facts and prevent the older man from doing any more injustice to the younger man and have the former compensate him for any damage he might have caused the younger man by his actions. If the awaqil fail to do this and if their failure resulted in the younger insulting or hurting the older, his acts become no longer an individual responsibility for which he has to pay alone, and the Amar should pay for him.

Article 8:

[627] No members of the Amar should take sides in disputes involving families or individuals outside the Amar unless the awaqil in the Amar investigate the matter and the reasons for the dispute and decide that the Amar as a whole should be on one side of the dispute or the other.

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Article 9:

The Amar should never fight on the side of the wrongdoer, because if it does, it will have to pay with him for his wrongdoings.

[628] [619]

Article 10:

Any dispute or fight involving a member of the Amar and an outsider should be reported to the awaqil in the Amar who are supposed to take the matter up with the other party. If the awaqil are convinced that the outsider is the aggressor or that he is at fault, they should try to make him accede to the demands of the members of the Amar, using all their efforts to convince him and the aqila of his bait. If he refuses, they should call him for a "Miad" (tribal meeting) in which all parties involved should be represented by their respective awaqil.

[563] [619]

Article 11:

With regard to "iktitab" (tribal adoption), an outsider wanting to join the Aggary Family or one of its constiuent buite must be asked first about the reason or reasons for his desire to join. This must be done in order to know what kind of person he is and whether he will become a burden and liability to the Amar. If he proves to be of reputable standing, the aqila of the bait he wants to join can accept him without consultation with the rest of the awaqil. If on the other hand he is found to have grudges against someone or if someone has a financial claim over him, then the aqila of the bait cannot accept him without consultation with the other awaqil in the Amar. If all the awaqil agree to accept him, he is considered like one of the Eilat Aggary, having the same rights and bearing the same responsibilities.

Article 12:

A memberof the Amar who wants to separate himself from the Amar and get a "barawa" has to state his reasons beforehe can be released from the obligations of his membership in the amar. If his request to get the barawa was because of injustice he suffered by the Amar or any of its members, the awaqil have the duty to straighten the injustice and restore his rights. If, on the other hand, his request for the barawa was to avoid paying the Amar, then he cannot be released from his membership unless he pays all of his share, or else he must return all that the Amar has paid him until the time he asked for the barawa.

[695] [693]

Article 13:

If one of the Amar is accused of an offense for which he is tried by the legal system of the state, the Amar as a whole share the expenses of hiring an attorney to defend him. This, however, is done after the awaqil are sure (by means of administering the oath) that he is innocent and that the accusation is false.

613 Written agreements such as the above are becoming more common in
625 the area. The need to have the responsibility of the vengeance group
[178] or the Amar recorded and the names of its members listed stems from the
[361] increase in the geographical mobility of individuals and separate households
[464] seeking jobs with the government organizations in the area or with
the various industries in the towns and cities outside the Western Desert.
233 The uncertainty of pastoral nomadism and the delicate balance which exists
178 between pastures, animal population, and human population is pushing an
182 ever-increasing number of people to abandon the way of life which they
had lived for generations. Animals are extremely important to sustain
233 the pastoral life of Awlad Ali. Once the balance between the pasture and
182 the animal population is upset by a draught, a segment of the human population
731 has to make new adjustments. This adjustment is first made by
166 moving with one's flocks to areas in the Delta or in the Cyrenaica region
of Libya. This is a short-term adjustment, however, and cannot be continued
for long periods of time. Pastures in the Delta have to be purchased,
and in most cases the owner of the herd has to sell part of his
[619] herd to feed the rest. The Cyrenaica pasture is very limited and restricted
by the strong tribal control of the Cyrenaica Bedouins, who in
general are not friendly with many of the tribal segments living in the
233 Egyptian Western Desert. If the draught continues beyond a certain time,
731 the individual owner of a herd may find himself forced to sell the herd
464 and seek other modes of subsistence in the form of part-time or full-time
434 employment as a semi-skilled or unskilled worker with the government or
182 industrial organizations. Such jobs are usually viewed as a temporary
source of income to help the individual and his immediate family live

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through a hard year and to help him replace the herd he has lost. In many cases a dry year is followed by another and many of these employed find themselves depending more and more on their income from the jobs. The security of the employment is often compared favorably with the uncertainty of nomadic existence, and many decide to abandon the pastoral life on a more or less permanent basis. But even when one makes such a decision, he usually retains a strong affiliation with his original way of life.

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He retains an active interest in the affairs of his Amar, especially those from which he can benefit in one way or another. One important gain he might get is through sharing in the receipt of bloodmoney for the killing of any member of the Amar, and having the Amar paid in his behalf. But while asserting their membership in the Amar at the time of such distribution, very few, if any, would show themselves when the membership of the Amar is called upon for the collection of bloodmoney which the Amar has to pay for a murder committed by one of its members.

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It is known in the area that members of one bait of the Aggary Amar (Bait Ahmad) have never paid their share of the bloodmoney of the last twenty years, but always claim their share in the distribution of bloodmoney. Many members of that Bait claim that the Bait has long been separated from the Aggary Amar, although this claim is denied by the rest of the Amar as well as by those members of Bait Ahmad who claim their share in the receipt of bloodmoney.

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Disputes such as these, which are not limited to the Aggarty, led many Amars to attempt to make comprehensive lists of all members of the Amar and to require a written agreement in case of separation of a given Bait from the Amar.

613 578 672 671 681 Another factor which led to the need to formalize the rules of the Amar was the increase in the kind of disputes for which there is no provision in the customary law of Awlad Ali. Such disputes arise mainly out of situations which are relatively novel to the area. A large number of these situations involve the relationship between the tribal population and the government authorities recently taking a major part in managing the affairs of the area. There were no rules in Awlad Ali law to guide decisions in cases involving financial liability of a member of the Amar in cases such as confiscation of smuggled goods, destruction of government property, or false testimony leading to the conviction of a fellow tribesman by the government authorities. The list of cases such as these is rapidly increasing. Many members of the Amar refuse to share in the payment of liabilities arising out of such cases on the basis that since no provision has been made in the customary law of Awlad Ali, then the Amar as a whole should not take corporate responsibility for such actions. They assert that corporate responsibility of the Amar is the exception rather than the rule and therefore, where there is no specific rule, the responsibility is an individual one. Others insist that it is the corporate responsibility of the Amar in such matters that maintains the Amar as a group and gives incentives to the members to retain their membership in the Amar, and therefore, should be the rule rather than the exception, covering any form of liability unless individual responsibility is specified.

613 672 675 This made it essential to specify in some kind of formal statement which liabilities are to be considered collective for which the Amar has to pay as a corporate unit and which are to remain as individual responsibility. This is done either by listing the cases of individual

613 672 675 responsibility, leaving any other situation a collective responsibility, or by specifying the cases of collective responsibility, implying that all other responsibilities are as a rule individual ones. The Amar paper of the Aggary, for example, chose to list offenses for which the Amar is not responsible, leaving the rest of the liabilities to be covered by the Amar as a whole. This is not always the case. In some papers offenses for which the Amar is responsible are the ones listed leaving the general rule as the non-responsibility of the Amar.

613 671 675 It is in this respect that the Amar papers are considered an important source of legislation. Although the new rules incorporated in an Amar paper start with the limited applicability to members of the Amar, yet, as time passes and as these rules affect the relationship of the Amar members to outsiders, one rule may acquire a wide practice and become part of the customary law itself. An example of the point in 613 671 675 682 question is the rule regulating the payment of the bloodmoney in cases where the murderer is tried by the state courts for the same crime. In cases of arrest of the murderer by the government, only half the bloodmoney is paid and the other half is withheld until the trial is over. If the killer is acquitted by the court, then the other half becomes immediately due for payment. If, on the other hand, as mentioned before, the killer is convicted, half the bloodmoney is postponed until the person completes his sentence and is released unharmed and with his full senses. If he dies in prison or sustains an accident which affects his physical or mental capacities, the rest of the bloodmoney is automatically dropped. This rule was first included in a number of Amar papers, especially those of the Eilat of Awlad Kharouf tribe. In less than twenty years since it

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671 first appeared, the rule has become a practice so common that other Amars
675 find it unnecessary to specify it in their own papers.
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Another new rule which is in the process of acquiring a great amount
613 of consensus among the tribal population of Awlad Ali is that of the responsibility
672 of the Amar for the payment of the lawyer's fees for members
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[693] of the Amar who are tried by the government (Article 13 of the Aggary
[695] papers). Another less agreed upon rule is that of the responsibility of
613 the Amar for the financial losses caused by the confiscation of smuggled
672 goods or the payment of money for the destruction of government property
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439 by a member of the Amar. Where smuggling is an important source of income
[434] for the group, Amar papers usually include rules making it a corporate
responsibility; other Amar papers, especially those of tribal
segments not deeply involved in smuggling, make it an individual responsibility,
while still others leave it intentionally with no specific
rule, as in the case of the Aggary Amar paper.

613 The Aggary document is a relatively elaborate one. Not all Amar
[675] papers, or at least the ones I had a chance to examine, are as detailed.
[131] Eilat Aggary is the largest Amar in the area of Dera'el Bahari, which
extends from Alexandria 60 miles westward to the town of Alamein. The
613 distinctive characteristics of the Aggary Eila is that it is composed
563 mainly of peasant groups who joined the Aggary by means of tribal adoption.
619 Of the 16 Baits constituting the Aggary Amar, only three are believed
to be Awlad Ali proper. The attractiveness of the Aggary for the
peasant groups seeking to be adopted by the tribal population of the area
may be partly explained in terms of the location of Eilat Aggary in an
area relatively close to the Delta from where these groups usually migrate.

613 563 619 This makes it possible for those adopted by the tribe to keep in touch with their relatives and friends they left behind in the Delta while enjoying the military exemption gained from their adoption by the Awlad Ali population. It is also believed that Eilat Aggary, made up mostly of peasants themselves, are very lenient in the conditions they put for tribal adoption. Finally, the Eilat Aggary is not among the most powerful tribal segments of Awlad Ali, possibly because of their composition. This assures the adopted peasant groups an equal status not normally obtained if adopted by one of the powerful tribal segments of Awlad Ali.

613 [675] The Amar paper of the Aggary explicitly states some of the basic characteristics of the Amar as a unit in the tribal organization of Awlad Ali. The most distinctive aspect of the Eila or the Amar as a political unit is the absence of any formalized leadership. Although the Amar is viewed by outsiders as a corporate group as far as its legal responsibility in certain cases, from the standpoint of its members, the Amar is no more than the sum total of its constiuent units or Baits. This is shown in the Amar paper of Aggary which states that matters affecting the Amar be decided upon by all the bait represented by their respective leaders, the awaqil. 613 554 627 There is no formalized authority above the awaqil, although one of the awaqil might acquire a position of informal leadership by virtue of personal or other qualities. He will be considered as a mediator and go-between for the various leaders of the Baits. In the case of the Aggary, Sheihk Selouma, the Aqila of Bait Eweida, has acquired such a leadership among the Eilat Aggary. Although Shiehk Selouma is relatively young, (he is about 40 years old), he has the reputation of getting things done. His Bait is the wealthiest in the

His Bait is the wealthiest in the
613 554 Aggary and he himself has recently acquired a great amount of wealth,
627 mostly from smuggling goods across the Libyan borders. Because of his
[556] position as a Government Sheihk, he is believed to have influencial con-
nections in the government. He is the only member of the Aggary Amar
who has a car. He considers himself to be the spokesman of the Aggary
Family, and he is known to be able to persuade the reluctant awaqil to
conform to decisions made by the rest of the awaqil. In a number of in-
[682] stances he was able to collect bloodmoney from members of the Amar who
had previously refused to pay. Some people in the area believe that had
it not been for the persuasive abilities of Sheihk Selouma, the Aggary
Amar could never have persisted, and it would have long ago been divided
into smaller units due to the lack of agreement among its members. The
613 lack of formalized leadership of the Amar or the Eila makes consensus of
extreme importance for the Amar. The emphasis on the unity of the Amar
[675] is stated in Article 2 and is implied in a number of other articles in
[578] the Amar paper of Aggary. Disagreement among the awaqil is very rare al-
though not unknown in the area. The relative consensus among the awaqil
613 682 stems from the fact that the Amar as a group has a fairly limited function.
[182] Until very recently the only practical function of the Amar was the collec-
tion of money to pay for a murder committed by one of its members. Since
establishing the innocence or guilt of the accused is not the duty of the
Amar, once his guilt has been established, there is no question about
613 the payment. Disagreements are likely to occur in the case of new circum-
682 stances where money has to be paid, since payment in such cases are not
578 yet institutionalized, even when specified in a given Amar paper. This
000 has not yet become a major problem. If any disagreement between the

613 If any disagreement between the
578 responsibility of the majority of the awaqil to persuade the minority to
571 conform to the majority's decision. This is usually done by simple per-
613 sonal persuasion. In certain instances, however, when a particular aqila
554 is known for being troublesome to the Amar, refusing to abide by the ma-
571 578 jority decisions, an attempt may be made by the others to build up pop-
ular support around another person in the Bait which the aqila represents.
If this strategy is successful, it might lead to replacing the aqila by
another who is more abiding to the Amar's decisions. This approach is
more likely to succeed if the aqila is not a popular person in his own
Bait, for if he is popular, any attempt by the other Baits to disqualify
the aqila would be viewed by the members of his Bait as interference in
their own affairs and might lead them to rally even more strongly around
their leader.

613 The other tendency occurring when the size of the Eilat increases
is toward the separation of one or more of its constiuent Baits. Origi-
613 682 nally this was done by merely refusing to share in the payment of blood-
money. If this refusal continued, it was considered as a sign of
[178] separation of the Bait. In recent years this created problems with an
increasing number of individuals claiming separation from the Amar to
avoid the payment of the bloodmoney, while claiming membership when dis-
613 tribution is done. This led many tribal segments to require that the
675 "barawa" or separation of individuals or tribal units from any particular
Amar should be put in writing, after getting the approval of the Amar to
which he belonged. When the approval is given and the separation in put
in writing, it is announced to all other tribal segments. If this is
[672] done, members of the separated tribal segment are not held responsible

613 [675] [672] for the actions of the members of their former Amar, nor is the Amar responsible for theirs.

Units thus separated establish themselves as separate Amars. These units are commonly referred to as Eila, thus retaining the structural label of the higher order of segmentation. This is not always the case, however, and other segments may refer to them as Baits rather than as Eilat. This explains, at least in part, the tendency toward blurring the formal scheme on the next level of segmentation, that is, of the Bait, and may account for the variable meaning of the term Eilat itself.

The Bait

While the Eila or Amar-el-dam is the most important political unit by virtue of being the vengeance group and therefore, the individual's major support group, it is the Bait that constitutes the most visible political unit.

613 423 The Bait is the only corporate land-holding group. While the Eila is usually associated with a certain geographical locale which it considers as its homeland or "watan", it rarely, if ever, utilizes this land as a corporate unit. Instead, the land is divided among the various Baits constituting the Eila. The land of the Bait is not divided and each member of the Bait can, at least theoretically, cultivate or graze on any part of it.

613 But the one important characteristic of the Bait which distinguishes it as a political unit is the existence of a formally recognized leadership in the position of the Aqila (lit. wiseman). The Bait is the only structural unit with such formalized leadership. The Aqila is responsible for all members of his own Bait whose number varies from 20 to 60

613 individuals. He settles disputes among them and represents them in their
[627] disputes with outsiders. He is also the spokesman of his Bait in all
matters involving the relationship of the Bait with the other tribal segments.
[682] He is responsible for the collection of the bloodmoney from members
of his Bait and has the authority to confiscate property of individual
members who refuse to pay their share. When a member is financially unable
to pay his share, the Aqila is expected to pay for him and collect at a
later time when the member is in a position to make such payment.

613 Originally the position of the Aqila was a hereditary one with the
428 position passing from father to son. However, in recent years the rigidity
178 of the patrilineal descent as the basis of succession to the position
of the Aqila has been modified radically and other principles of selection
613 have been introduced. The working of the principles underlying the
128 selection of the Aqila will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter
through the close examination of one of the major legal cases which occurred
during my stay in the area.

613 Thus each Bait is a division of one of the Eilas and this has its
[423] place in the formal tribal system. It constitutes a group with definite
usufruct rights to land and a formally recognized leadership.

621 But the actual residential units in which Awlad Ali live are not
[613] baits but parts of them in the form of separate camps or "nagei". The
camps constitute the primary communities of Awlad Ali. A camp consists
[594] of a number of tents ranging from four to twelve. Each tent is usually
occupied by one nuclear family of a husband, his wife and children. In
[595] cases of polygynous marriages, each wife usually occupies one tent with
[361] her children. Each camp is separated from the next one by a distance
which ranges from two to ten kilometers.

621 which ranges from two to ten kilometers. The camp coincides with the
233 herding unit. The herd of the camp is usually grazed as a unit, often
621 by a paid shepherd hired by the members of the camp as a whole. Originally
233 the camp moved as a unit for grazing. This was essential in the
621 era of the tribal warfare and raiding where the security of the herd
361 178 and that of the people depended on such collective movement. In a type
of organization adapted to periodical movement, the camp offered the
optimum sized community: small enough to permit easy movement and large
enough to offer the kind of protection which individual families could
621 not have offered. In this era the camp seemed to have been a closely
178 knit group. Many of the informants still remember the time when the
622 361 camp was under the strong control of the headman who made the major decisions
233 of where and when the camp should move. It was those decisions
that determined the safety and the security of the group. The headman
had strong authority over members of his camp. Such authority was based
mainly on his ability to exercise valid judgments as to whether or not
the group should move and the route that it had to take if movement was
decided upon. At the present time, and with the diminishing of raiding
and tribal warfare in the area, the authority of the headman seems to
have diminished along with it. The camp appears at the present time to
be mostly a residential unit with minimal leadership and with a rapidly
changing composition. Different families join the camp at different
times during the year.

621 Although the membership of the camps is drawn from the bait, a camp
613 does not, in terms of its genealogical composition, make up a descent
segment of that Bait. The membership of a camp is based on a completely

621 613 different principle from the principle of patrilineal succession characteristic of the bait and all other units on the higher levels of tribal segmentation.

Some of the camps I visited were composed of three patrilines, while others contained individuals belonging to five patrilines. In some camps each tent belonged to a different patriline, some of which did not even belong to the same bait. The composite nature of the camps is particularly clear in the case of what the people in the area called "nagei gheir aseil" or the artificial camp. This kind of camp is usually found near the towns and settled communities of the area. They include one or two tents of individuals belonging to the bait whose land the camp is built one, and who give the camp its name, but the rest of the tents are occupied by individuals from different baits or even tribes and also by 621 outsiders who came to work in the area. Such a camp does not act as a unit for any purpose. It has a rudimentary structure, and is held together by mere physical proximity of its members which stems from the need of "wanas" or togetherness. The composition of the artificial camps is highly changeable with new members joining and others leaving throughout the year. When I joined the camp of Ragi from the Sanagra tribe, it consisted of twelve tents. Four of the twelve tents were occupied by [563] Sheihk Ragi (two tents for the two wives) and his two married sons, five occupied by members of tribal segments other than Sanagrah, and four by workers who came from Alexandria to work for the government project in the area. One week after I joined the camp another tent was added to [563] the camp. It belonged to a man from the Geneishat tribe of the Natruh area. He came with his wife to work on the new irrigation project which

621 had started in the area at that time. No special permission was required
563 for the newcomer to join the camp. He only got the permission
of the person whose tent was at the far end of the camp to put his tent
[574] next to it. The first night after the man joined the camp, his next
door neighbor slaughtered a goat in honor of the new member and invited
all members of the camp.

621 Leaving the camp also does not require any permission, although the
622 custom specifies that before one leaves he should inform either his
[576] neighbor or the headman of his time of departure. With the exception of
[613] cases where the headman of a particular camp is at the same time the
Aqila of the bait, the headman of the camp has no authority over the members
622 of the camp. He is usually called upon to solve minor problems between
627 brothers or husband and wife, or give his opinion in decisions of
minor importance. "A headman is like a father," said one informant, "we
call him kabir el-nagi (the old man of the camp)." When a member of the
627 nagei is involved in a serious dispute with another, the one to handle
613 the case is the aqila or awaqil to whom the two disputing parties belong.

619 Group	Leadership	Identifying aspects
613 Kabila	None	Client groups attached.
621 Eila	None	Vengeance group, Vaguely defined tribal land ("watan").
Bait	Aqila	Corporate land-holding. Formally recognized leadership.
[622] Nagei	Headman	Residential unit with unsegmented structure.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND JUDICIAL PROCESS

69 One of the most idstinguishing aspects of the legal system of Awlad
629 Ali is the absence of any formalized judicial structure. Disputes are
628 solved mainly through the mechanism of informal mediation rather than through formal hearings of a court during which the facts of each case are presented and judgment based on the facts is passed. This does not mean that formal hearings are not known on the area. For the "Mi'ad" or tribal hearing is a common and very important practice in the tribal proceedings. The Mi'ad, however, is not a tribal court. It is merely a gathering of all interested parties and anyone else who wished to attend, in which the agreement reached behind the scenes by means of negotiations are announced.

628 The first Mi'ad I attended was held in the house of Sheikh Mughaieb,
613 the Aqila (tribal leader) of bait Mughaieb of the Sanagrah tribal segment
683 in the area of Hammam, 60 miles west of Alexandria. The case that was to
[114] be settled at the Mi'iad involved the assaulting of Sheikh Mughaieb ty two younger members of bait Dauoud who lived in a nearby camp. The dispute started when Ali, the youngest brother (14 years old) of the two assailants, found a piece of iron in the desert. Suspecting that it was a mine, he took it away from the camp to the small garden in the backyard of Sheikh Mughaieb's house, surrounded it with dry weeds and set fire to it. The piece of iron was in fact a mine and it exploded, damaging the trees and a window on the Sheikh's property. At the sound of the explosion Sheikh Mughaieb rushed out and found the boy trying to run away from

628 683 • 613 the area. He caught him and slapped him and ordered him not to do it again. After a short while the boy returned with his two older brothers who protested Sheikh Mughaieb's hitting their younger brother. The argument developed into a fight during which the two brothers hit Mughaieb with a heavy stick over his head making him unconscious.

The Mi'ad was held two weeks after the incident. When I arrived at Sheikh Mughaieb's house, the meeting was being held in the guest room in the back of the house. Present at the meeting were Sheikh Mughaieb, his father, two distant relatives of Mughaieb who were visiting the area at the time; Sheikh Mutair, the Aqila of the powerful bait of Mutair located some twenty miles east of Mughaieb; the two assailants, their father who at the same time was the Aqila of their bait, and two neighbors of Sheikh Mughaieb.

For the first half hour or so nothing was said. People were sitting
[576] silently except for occasional greetings of "how are you?" and the response of "thank God for everything". Tea was served frequently. Then
[779] Sheikh Mutair addressed the gathering and read the "fatha" or the beginning passage of the Qoraan (which appeals to God to show his right ways to the believers and to guide them to wisdom). He then said, "In the blessed presnece of all these honorable guests and with the help of God and his prophet we will clear the hearts of those concerned of the grudges caused by the shameful and unfortunate incident in which the devil has played a major role." Then Sheikh Karim, the Aqila of the bait to which the accused belonged, continued the speech saying that this shameful thing should never have happened and that his sons must
[867] have been possessed by the devil to have done it. After all, they have been brought up to respect their elders and especially Sheikh Mughaieb, who was like a second father to him.

628 683 613 [576] who was like a second father to them. He praised Sheikh Mughaieb for being understanding. He then said that Sheikh Mughaieb was very generous and that his sons had come to Mughaieb the day before and kissed the top of his head (an expression of respect for forgiveness). He said that no money, no matter how great, could erase the harm done by his sons but that he had offered to pay Sheikh Mughaieb the sum of 400 pounds as "kabara" or face-saving compensation. (The kabara will be discussed in a forthcoming chapter, but for the time being it is worth noting that the above amount is the maximum for such compensation since it equals the bloodmoney for a man). Then he turned to Sheikh Mughaieb and asked him to accept it in front of the respected guests. Sheikh Mughaieb then spoke for the first time and said that the two boys were like sons to him and that he had no hard feelings toward them anymore, since he believed that young people were sometimes carried away in their actions. He then proceeded to say that in honor of the honorable guests who took the time to attend the hearing he was forfeiting half the amount. At that time a woman brought the food the women were cooking for the gathering, and Sheikh Karim asked Mughaieb, "How about the honor of the good women of the house who have done all the work and cooked all the food? If you ask me, they deserve at least another hundred pounds." Mughaieb said, "All right, fifty pounds for the home of the women, but no more." After that Sheikh Karim paid the amount of a hundred and fifty pounds to Sheikh Mughaieb and shook hands with him. He also shook hands with the two young men who had assaulted him, and the gathering started the dinner and tea.

627 628 Not all Mi'ads in the area proveed with that smoothness. Many of them are characterized by shouting and arguments and frequently no

627 628 [123] agreement is reached. In fact, later one of the people attending said that my presence made everything run smoothly in that particular Mi'ad because they felt that they should show me how peaceful Awlad Ali were. This was mainly supported by my own observation of other Mi'ads, some of which are described later, where parties were less understanding of one another and where no forfeiting of any part of the compensation occurs. This is particularly true when the Mi'ad is held to acknowledge the failure of the negotiators to reach an acceptable agreement among the parties. [681] This is also true when one of the parties to a dispute denies the charge and insists on not paying any kind of compensation. In such cases the Mi'ad is held to decide upon a different course of action, usually the administration of the oath, as will be discussed later in the chapter. [182] Despite its typical nature, the Mi'ad described above exemplifies the nature of the Mi'ad and its purpose as a process of making public what has been achieved in private negotiations. No evidence is presented and evaluated in the Mi'ad, no hearing of witnesses, no passing of judgment based on the evaluation of the facts of the case. Actually, the facts of the case are never presented and a person who is not acquainted with them before hand has no way of learning what the dispute is all about by merely listening to the discussions of the Mi'ad.

628 613 The key role in the process of mediation in dispute settlements is done by the Aqila or the leader of the bait. When a dispute occurs between members of different baits, each party goes to the Aqila of his bait who takes immediate steps tomeet with the Aqila of the other party and discuss the matter with him in an attempt to reach a settlement. He acts as a representative of members of his bait and defends their interests in

628 the settlement achieved. In many such interest is best served by taking
613 into consideration the welfare of the other party to the dispute as well.

613 Reasonableness is an important prerequisite for the success of the
554 Aqila in performing this functions in dispute settlement. This is true
157 whether the Aqila is dealing with disputes between members of his own bait or between members of his bait and outsiders. But while reasonableness and the personal qualities constitute important assets for the Aqila,
613 they are not the basis of his political authority. Proven abilities are
554 admired but they are, or had been until very recently, irrelevant to the
178 question of succession to the position of Aqila. The structurally significant source of the Aqila's authority is patrilineal succession. This principle has recently been challenged under the impact of social and economic changes that are taking place in the area. To analyze the role
121 of the Aqila and the source of his authority, I shall utilize, to some
613 extent, Turner's concept of "social drama" by presenting and analyzing a
128 case of dispute whose developmental stages happened over a period of more than eleven years. The major part of these developments occurred at the time of the field work and I had a chance to observe at lease part of it. The case in all its phases offers a rare example of a disturbance that happened in the social life of a particular tribal segment. It offers what Turner called "... a limited area of transparency in the otherwise opaque surface of regular, uneventful social life" (p. 93). The political unit involved is that of bait Asabe'i, the largest in size of all baits in the Aggary Eila. As events of the case unfolded themselves, some of the important principles of social structure, at least as they operate at a given point, were revealed.

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EILAT AGGARY AND ITS CONSTIUENT BAITS

BAIT	NUMBER OF ADULT MALES (Sayems)[1]	AQILA
Eweidha (El-Burg)*	28	Ta'eb
Eweidha (El-Alamein)*	31	Selouma
Yusef**	30	Suliman
Helleis	22	Hussein
El-Asabei'	56	Shei'eb
Abdel Hamid*	20	Haj Musa
Risq**	30	Yadem
Afash	25	Nayer
Daghas**	25	Daghash
Bul-Yazid*	21	Haj Shousha
Makhyum**	23	Abdel fattah
Hussein**	17	Masri
El-Ramly**	25	Salem
Rashwan**	30	Rashwan
Attya*	31	Masu'd
Abdella*	22	Abdel Galil

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[1] Numbers are taken from the Amar list which is used to distribute the amount of bloodmoney on the various baits. An adult male or "sayem" is anyone 15 years of age or older. The word "sayem" means fasting individual and the age of 15 is when a child is forced to observe the duties of fasting.

[885]
[785]
[619]

** Refers to adopted tribal segments (Muktatibeen).
* Baits of doubted origin. Some claim these baits are adopted, while others insist that they are Awlad Ali proper.

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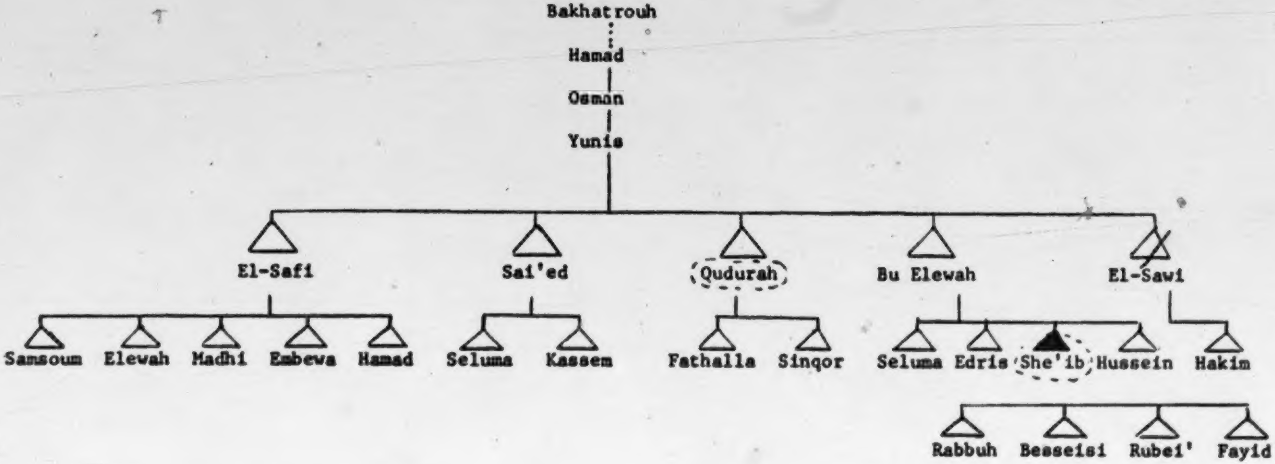
BAIT EL ASABEI'


Bakhatrouh
Hamad
Osman
Yunis
El-Safi
Sai'ed
Qudurah
Bu Elewah
El-Sawi
Samsoum
Elewah
Madhi
Embewa
Hamad
Seluma
Kassem
Fathalla
Sinqor
Seluma
Edris
She'ib
Hussein
Hakim
Rabbuh
Besseisi
Rubei'
Fayid

PHASE I

613 578 682 [464] In September of 1956, Mansur from bait Eweidha of the Aggary Eila, who works as a driver in one of the government projects in the area, went to Alexandria with a friend, a member of the Gemei'at tribe. In one of the bars there, Mansur got drunk and entered into an argument with his friend. The argument turned into a fight during which he hit his friend with a broken bottle. Two days later, the friend died. A settlement was made between Mansur and the victim's family and bloodmoney was established at L. 300.

613 682 683 Two weeks after the above incident, the same person, Mansur, was driving the government car on his regualr duty when he ran over two members of the Sanagrah tribe who were sitting on the side of the road, killing one and breaking the leg of the other. Another settlement was made with the families of the victims. The bloodmoney for the dead man was established at L. 300 and another L. 50 was set as the compensation for the broken leg of the other man.

The total sum of compensations in the two incidents was divided among the sixteen baits constituting the Aggary Amar. The share of each bait was decided in proportion to the number of adult males (sayems) in each. The share of bait Asabei' alone was established at about L. 100.

613 682 683 672 558 As the Aqila of Bait Asabei', Shei'eb was responsible for collecting the money from members of his bait. But for the following six months he was unable to collect from any member of his bait, including Sheikh Hakim, Shei'eb's cousin and the wealthiest person in bait Asabei' and the Aggary Amar as a whole. Most of them gave the execuse that it was a bad year and they had lost most of their herds. When the money was not collected,

613 682 683 672 558 [115] the victims' families sent their representatives to demand that the money be paid. To face the situation, a meeting of all the Awaqil of Eilat Aggary was called and Sheikh Selouma, the Aqila of bait Eweidha, took the responsibility of notifying the other Awaqil. The meeting was held in the tent of Hemeida (my driver and informant) from the Sanagrah tribe. Each bait was represented by its Aqila with the exception of bait Asabei', from which both Shei'eb and Hakim were present. Since bait Asabei' was the only bait which did not submit to its share of the bloodmoney, the discussion centered around the inability of Shei'eb to collect it. In a gesture which he meant to appear as helping out Shei'eb, Hakim offered to pay not only his share but that of all members of bait Asabei', and followed his offer by handing the money to Sheikh Selouma. After this act which was a complete surprise to Shei'eb, Sheikh Slouma, the Aqila of bait Eweidha, suggested that Hakim should be considered as the Aqila of bait Asabei' instead of Shei'eb, who had demonstrated his inability to collect from members of his own bait. He emphasized the fact that he had nothing against Shei'eb who had legitimately acquired his position as Aqila by means of succession. But he insisted that the survival of the Amar depended upon the fulfullment of its financial obligations to outsiders and that Hakim was wealthy and could pay. Shei'eb did not comment and the rest of the Awaqil nodded indicating their agreement with Sheikh Selouma.

[124] The above is the summary of events that happened before I came to the area, and which were told to me by informants including the parties involved. Since most of these events occurred more than ten years ago,

613 it was impossible to verify the actual facts or to know what exactly
682 683 happened. But since the parties involved are still alive and since these
672 events are closely related to present-day happenings, the case is still
558 alive in the minds of the parties involved as well as those of outsiders-
(124) Naturlaly, each party tries to present the facts in such a way as to
613 682 support his own claims. Shei'eb, for example, insists that Hakim had
683 bribed members of bait Asabei' to refuse to pay their share in order to
156 embarrass him and make him appear as unable to perform his duties as
558 Aqila. "Hakim always had his eyes on becoming the Aqila of bait Asabei',"
said Shei'eb, "but he had no business becoming the Aqila, so he had to
make me look bad to the other Awaqil.... He likes to be looked up to as
a big man, but it wouldn't work." While other members of bait Asabei'
deny that Hakim had bribed them, they agree with Shei'eb that Hakim is a
156 dishonest man. In fact, Hakim's reputation is so widespread in the area
551 that it has earned him the nickname of "the thief". The nickname was
788 given to him a few years ago when he went to Mecca for a pilgrimage with
685 another fellow tribesman. The latter told the story that while in Mecca
Hakim had found a purse with two hundred pounds in it. He was supposed
to return the purse to the authorities or it would be considered as
stealing if he kept it. Stealing in Mecca is not only a crime but also
a great sin which makes the holy trip void for the offender. Hakim told
his companion that he had given the purse to the authorities. But later,
on their way back from Mecca, the friend found the purse hidden in Hakim's
luggage. When the story was known in the area, he was referred to as
156 "the thief". Other accounts of Hakim's dishonesty are told throughout
685 the area, including stories of how he acquired his wealth through stealing
439

156 [685] equipment from the government projects and from smuggling sheep and mer-
[439] chandise across the Libyan border. Although some of these stories might
be exaggerated, they all point to the fact that Hakim, despite his wealth,
is not the most popular or reputable individual in bait Asabei', and that
although Shei'eb is not a popular individual either, he definitely comes
up the winner in any popularity contest between the two. The question is
156 why Hakim was selected by the Awaqil to replace Shei'eb. The case in-
613 volved more than Shei'eb's inability to collect the money from members of
558 682 his bait. Shei'eb's ineffectiveness seemed to have been taken as an ex-
683 cuse rather than as the direct cause. Many Aqaqil, before Shei'eb, had
failed in collecting money from their own bait without being subject to
direct challenge. What seems to be involved is more than a challenge to
a particular member, Shei'eb. It is a challenge to the whole principle
by which Shei'eb acquired his position as Aqila of bait Asabei': patrilineal succession.

156 Shei'eb is the youngest of four sons of the former Aqila of bait
159 Asabei', Sheikh Elewa. For more than fifty years Sheikh Elewa was the
613 undisputed Aqila of bait Asabei'. He also had considerable influence
463 683 among other tribal segments throughout the whole of the Western Desert
554 by virtue of his position as "nazzar", that is, the expert who assesses
the amount of compensation for wound inflicted in a liable case. The
[428] position of nazzar is a hereditary one and had been handed down from
[779] father to son. The basis for his assessment of wounds are a number of
old books believed to be obtained from Mecca and contain all the judgments of famous Islamic leaders in their assessments of wounds.

[428] Eleven years ago when Sheikh Elewa became blind and too old to

156 exercise his functions, he invited all the important people in the area
159 into a large gathering during which he announced that he was handing the
613 sacred books to Shei'eb, who was to become the nazzar and also to succeed
463 him as the Aqila of bait Asabei'. Although at that time Shei'eb was
683 fairly young, twenty-six, nobody questioned Sheikh Elewa's decision.
554
428
[379] "He is the Aqila," said one informant, "and he has the right to decide
which of his sons is to succeed him. After all, he knows his sons better
than anybody else and knows which one is best for the job." Most people
156 thought that Sheikh Elewa, being still alive and with clear thinking,
159 would help Shei'eb in performing his duties as Aqila. A few months after
613 Shei'eb took over his father's position, it became apparent that he was
554 too immature for the job. He tried to use his position to take money
578
[661] from members of his bait and when they refused to give him any money, he
entered into fights with a number of them. Rumors spread that he took bribes from the disputing parties who came to him for him to assess the legal compensation for wounds to raise or lower his estimate. But still people within bait Asabei' as well as outside it respected Sheikh Elewa's decision and did not challenge Shei'eb openly. But as time passed the dissatisfaction with Shei'eb grew. This dissatisfaction came mainly from members of the Amar who were affected directly by Shei'eb's actions, especially those actions which resulted in the payment of compensation for wounds inflicted in fights.

PHASE II

439 On the evening of May 16, 1966, two members of the Geneishat tribe of Matruh area came to Burg-el-Arab with a large shipment of smuggled cigarettes to leave with their partner in the area, Hadi, from the

685 The Geneishat selected the tomb of the saint where the oath was to
627 778 be administered. According to the customary law of Awlad Ali, the plain-
695 tiff is the one to decide which saint is to be sought for the taking of
[671] the oath by the defendant. Each saint has his own reputation and some
[776] are said to be more effective in certain kinds of disputes. The saint
selected in this case was Sidi Dmain. Sidi Dmian's tomb is in the
Beheira province some 60 miles east of the area of Burg el-Arab. He is
[732] known to cause the blindness of those who dare to swear falsely by him,
[784] and at least four cases of blindness in the area have been attributed to
[671] false oaths at Sidi Dmain. Also according to the law, it is the plain-
tiff who selects the persons from the defendant's kin unit who are to
685 support him in the oath. Following this rule, the Geneishat, with the
627 help of Hadi, selected the fourteen men from bait Asabei to swear with
695 Rabbu. The number of men that were required in this case was considered
● 613 very conservative. The usual practice in estimating the number of sup-
[803] porters in any case is done by establishing the value of the damage or
compensation and dividing it by ten. The result is the number of men
needed to give the oath. If there were not enough adult males in a given
kinship unit to fulfill the number needed, some or all the men would
have to be sworn twice or three times and each time a person takes the
oath he is considered as a separate person until the number needed is met.

Following this rule, and since the value of the property confiscated in the above case was over three thousand pounds, 300 persons should have been sworn in support of Rabbuh. Since this would have complicated the matter greatly, it was agreed that fifteen men were enough. Taieb gave the justification for limiting the number to 15 that trade and, as

685 such, deviates from the normal pattern of cases dealt with by the customary
627 law in the conventional way. The men selected by the Geneishat
695 included, in addition to Rabbu and his father Hakim, Shei'eb and his
● 613 three brothers, Hakim's cousin Samsoun and his four brothers and Hakim's
uncle Sheikh Qudura and his sons. The date of the oath was set for June
tenth. Two days before, the two parties involved in the dispute invited
a number of the important people of other tribal segments in the area to
[492] be witnesses to the oath. All involved started to travel to the tomb of
[494] Sidi Dmain, some on donkeys, others by bus or train. At six o'clock on
[497] the morning of the oath everybody gathered in the courtyard outside the
[778] tomb of the saint. The granddaughter of the saint works as a mediator
[787] between the spirit of her grandfather and his followers announced that
[776] the saint was ready for the oath and everybody went inside preparing for
the oath. Before the oath was taken the Geneishat asked Hakim if his son
and the fourteen men they had chosen were present and Hakim said they
were. Since the Geneishat were from a different tribal segment and
lived outside the area, they had no personal knowledge of most of the
men who were to take the oath. Knowing the reputation of Hakim they
[212] asked the men to present their identification cards to check them against
the list they had. At that time Hakim said that some of the men didn't
[747] have identification cards because they had not applied for aid from the
World Food Program. Then the Geneishat demanded that those without cards
should be identified by members of other tribal segments who had come as
witnesses. Hakim refused and then admitted that one of the men was absent
and that he had put another in place of him. But when the Geneishat
learned that the one to be absent was Sheikh Qudura, they insisted that

685 627 695 613 [578] no one else could take his place. They were mainly angry at Hakim's attempt to cheat them and refused Hakim's offer to substitute ten men for Qudura. The temper of the meeting was becoming very tense; then Taieb, who was working very hard to achieve a settlement between the disputants, took the Geneishat aside and tried to convince them to accept another man instead of Qudura. When he found that to be impossible, he asked them to agree to a postponement of the oath until they saw what prevented Qudura from coming as he had promised. The Geneishat agreed to the postponement because of the absence of one of the men to swear. [671] According to Awlad Ali Daraieb, if one of the individuals to take the oath fails to show up in the saint's tomb for any reason or if he comes but refuses to take the oath, the whole case for the defense fails, and the judgment is awarded automatically for the plaintiff. In this case the Geneishat were entitled to immediate compensation for their confiscated goods. Nobody knew the reason that led the Geneishat to forfeit their right to immediate compensation and to give Hakim and his son a second chance despite their intense dislike for the latters. Some attribute this to the skill of Taieb and the respect he commands among all tribes. Others believe the Geneishat movement to be a reciprocal act to bait Asabei' as a whole which long ago had one a similar favor for the Geneishat. Still others beliebe it to be a gesture of good will on the part of the Geneishat who needed to retain a good and friendly relationship with the tribal segments on their smuggling route.

No date was set at that time for the oath. The parties as well as 685 627 578 the witnesses returned to their houses. Hakim then took Shei'eb and went to visit Qudura to see why he hadn't come to the oath but Qudura

685 refused to see them. Later Hakim had Shei'eb spread the rumor that Qudura
627 had taken a bribe from the Geneishat to refuse to take the oath, and the
578 story of an old dispute between Qudura, on the one hand, and both Hakim
[521] and Shei'eb, on the other. This dispute dates back to the time when the
● 613 156 Awaqil of the Aggary Amar decided to replace Shei'eb with Hakim as the
554 Aqila of bait Asabei'. Shortly after the decision of the Aggary Awaqil
578 was publicly known, Qudura was very unhappy and refused to recognize it. His reaction was not out of loyalty to Shei'eb whom he thought was a very unfit person for the position, but it stemmed rather, from a deep resentment of Hakim. According to my information, Qudura's position was met with sympathy by the majority of the people outside the Aggary Amar who share with him the belief that Hakim was a dishonest person who could not be trusted as a representative of bait Asabei'. It was at that time that the stories of Hakim's dishonest dealings were being discussed publicly, mainly by Qudura and members of his camp. At that time many believed that Qudura was the best man for the position of Aqila of bait Asabei' and that he was the only qualified member of that bait. He was the oldest able man in the bait, and although he was poor, yet he was known throughout the area for his honesty and sound decision. In fact many people in the area told me that they believe Qudura to be the only honest member of bait Asabei'. Realizing that Qudura was getting all the attention, Hakim sent his son Rabbu to Qudura with a message that Hakim acknowledged Qudura as the Aqila and that he (Hakim) had neither the time nor the interest in taking the position himself. Hakim also conveyed the view that he would support Qudura if the latter denounced Shei'eb and appointed himself in his place. Qudura agreed and a date

613 was set for a meeting in which Quadra was to announce his decision.
156 554 Meanwhile, Qudura stopped attacking Hakim and directed his attack to-
578 ward the inadequacy of Shei'eb as the Aqila.

The meeting was held two weeks later and all the important people in the area were invited. After dinner was served Qudura announced his agreement with Hakim to become the Aqila of bait Asabei' replacing Shei'eb. Everybody expected Hakim to support Qudura in his claim, but instead Hakim directed his comment to Qudura telling him that there had been a misunderstanding on Qudura's part and that all his message to Qudura was to acknowledge the latter as the Aqila for his own camp alone not for bait Asabei' as a whole as Qudura claimed. This announcement was a surprise to everyone in the meeting since this meant recognizing the camp of Qudura as a separate bait, a result which nobody, including Qudura, had ever anticipated. Qudura was very angry and dissolved the meeting immediately. Ever since that incident, the relationship between
578 Qudura and Hakim has been very unfriendly. Almost all of my informants
156 explained Qudura's failure to show up at the oath as a means of revenge
695 685 against Hakim who had embarrassed him among the people who attended the
627 meeting. Qudura himself had told me later that the reason for his not
[124] coming to the oath was that he was not sure that Rabbu was innocent:

> Rabbu has been known to do these thins (inform the police) and I cannot trust him. I cannot take a false oath and endanger myself for someone like Rabbuh. Besides, Hakim never came to me to discuss the oath like he did with all the others who were to swear with them. If he had brought his son and come to me before I would have been able to tell whether they were lying or not, and If not, I would have sworn with a clear conscience and without fear. The oath is something that one does not take lightly. It involves the supernatural.

613 627 When Qudura refused to see Hakim and Shei'eb, Hakim asked Sheikh
156 196 Saleh, the Aqila of one of the most powerful baits in the area, to talk

613 627 to Qudura and to tell him that Hakim wanted to show his respect. This
156 means in everyday parlance that Hakim was willing to pay him money.
[196] Qudura agreed to meet Hakim the following day.

[114] On the day of the meeting, to which I was invited, Hakim arrived
[431] with his son and gifts of three goats, tea and sugar. One of the goats
[574] was slaughtered and supper was prepared for the guests. While the guests were eating, Hakim and Qudura disappeared inside one of the tents for more than an hour. When they finally joined the gathering, Hakim announced that he and Qudura were now brothers and that it was his fault that Qudura was angry because he had accused him of being stupid and misunderstanding the content of the message sent to him after the meeting of the Aggary awawil. "I admit," said Hakim, "that I might have meant at one time and probably said it to sheikh Qudura that I wanted him to be the Aqila of bait Asabei'. Now that I have admitted this, Sheikh Qudura should not have any grudges against me or my son." Then Qudura addressed the gathering and said, in a very cold and dry manner, "I am glad that Hakim has come to this senses and admitted his mistake." The gathering lasted for most of the evening, spent mostly in behind-the-scenes meetings involving Hakim, Qudura and different guests. Then as the last guest left, Shei'eb, who had been inside the tent throughtout the evening came out and said that Hakim was a fool and that Qudura had tricked him into admitting publicly that he had lied and that Qudura still refused to take the oath.

613 Qudura's stand created a strong reaction which affected almost all
619 578 the tribal segments in the area. The case overshadowed any other event
[521] and was the main topic of discussion. The reaction was mixed, however.

613 619 578 156 Other tribal segments outside the Aggary amar supported the position of Qudura, and most took his position to prove their notion about his honesty and the fact that despite his poverty, he could not be bribed. They were also pleased with Qudura's trick which demonstrated Hakim's dishonest 613 578 156 techniques. Within the Aggary amar, the general sentiment was still with Hakim although his confession of cheating Qudura made it difficult to support him openly. They directed their attack against Qudura who in their view violated the solidarity of the amar and even of his bait and showed it as divided and noncohesive. They were also fearful that Qudura's [685] refusal to pay would cause the amar to pay the Geneishat the full compensation for the action of Rabbuh, a sum which, as one said, would put the amar in debt for generations to come. The strongest impact of the events affected bait Asabei' itself and left it one step from complete fission into three distinct groups. Shei'eb, finding the tide turning against Hakim, found a chance to assert his claim to the position of the Aqila, stating openly that he would never forfeit his hereditary right. On the other hand, finding the popularity of Qudura increasing rapidly, he started attacking him verbally and even threatened to beat him. He in- [681] sisted that Qudura and his sons should be excluded from the amar and given the barawa.

613 681 [192] The word "barawa" is derived from the Arabic verb "bara" which means to cure one's self of an illness. It also means to sever social ties with undesirable persons. The term is used among Awlad Ali in a much restrited sense to refer to the process by which a tribal segment detaches itself from any responsibility for the actions of a particular member. It is

613 681 mainly a declaration that, that particular person is no longer a member
of the tribal segment and that his actions should not in any way reflect
upon the tribal segment. The tribal segment referred to is usually the
amar since it is only politically corporate group amoung Awlad Ali. The
procedure is usually undertaken in cases of habitual offenders whose ac-
tions consistently bringing liability to the amar or disgracing it in
relations with other tribal groups in the area. Due to the seriousness
of the procedure (since it leaves the individual without the protection
of his group), it is restricted. First, to announce the barawa of any
of its members the amar has to get the unanimous agreement of all adult
males of the gorup as represented by their Awaqil of their respective
[675] baits. Lately such decisions have to be put in writing. The barawa
[593] from the amar does not include the man's father, brothers, or sons.
[672] These immediate relatives remain responsible for his actions even if they
desire to detach themselves from such responsibility. This is mainly
maintained not so much for the protection of the repeated offender but
rather for the protection of unsuspecting people who happen to have deal-
ings with him and who would be protected by the corporate responsibility
of the man's immediate kin. In addition to repeated offenders, the
[626] barawa or the threat of it is used to back the awaqil in their exercise
of persuasion to get members of their baits to agree to their decisions,
expecially those affecting the amar, like the collection of bloodmoney
or the taking of the oath.

A man, on his part, may ask to be given a barawa from his amar. In this case, as shown in the amar papers of Aggary, he has to give good reasons for such a demand. The awaqil of the amar meet and discuss such

613 681 a request and examine the reasons behind it in an attempt to remedy them if possible. They have to be sure first of all that by his request the person is not avoiding the paymnet of his share in a particular case.
[695] If this is proven to be the case, then no barawa is granted unless the person pays all his debts to the amar. This, like the amar's barawa of the individual, has to be put in writing.

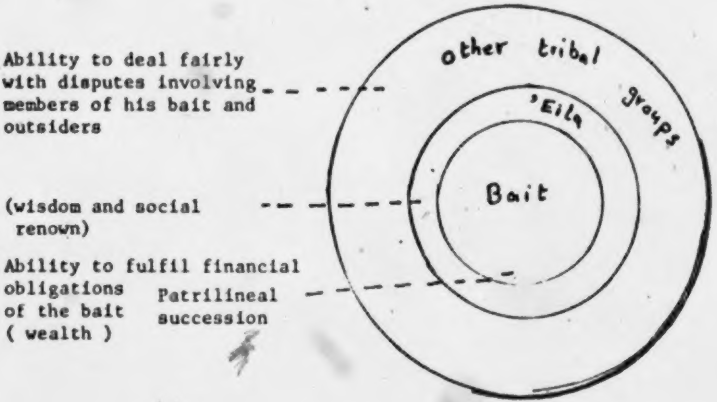
613 578 [114] I left the area a month after the meeting held at Qudura's camp. By the time I left, bait Asabei' was almost in a chaotic situation. Many thought that the outcome would be in favor of Qudura, who would emerge from all the happenings as the leader of bait Asabei' as a whole. Others thought that the only possible outcome was for bait Asabei' to be divided into two or even three separate units with their own respective leaders.

Analysis

114 620 All events of the second phase occurred while I was in the area. Nonetheless I was not able to observe directly all of these events, due to the nature of the judicial process among Awlad Ali which relies, as has been mentioned earlier, on informal mediation and influence, rather than on formal court hearings. Most of the above events happened behind
[124] closed doors and with a great amount of secrecy. For this reason I had to rely partly on informants' accounts of what exactly had happened between the parties involved.

613 627 182 The dispute in its two phases revealed a major weakness in the social structure of the major bait of the Aggary family. As the events of the case unfolded, they shed light on some of the important principles

613 627 182 underlying the authority of the Aqila and the source of his political support. Three such principles were evident in the above case: patrilineal succession, wealth, and social and personal renown.


Ability to deal fairly with disputes involving members of his bait and outsiders
(wisdom and social renown)
Ability to fulfil financial obligations of the bait (wealth)
Patrilineal succession
other tribal groups
'Eila
Bait

613 554 To better understand the importance of the three principles to the authority of the Aqila, it is important to examine the domains within the Aqila normally functions. First, the Aqila is the leader of a certain kinship unit: the bait. Historically, the bait has been the main field of action for the Aqila and from it he draws his main political support. 613 627 554 As the leader of his bait, the Aqila settles disputes among members of his bait and represents the group for political and administrative purposes. His function is to hold the bait together by preventing major disputes between members from leading to the fission of the group into smaller, separate units. He performs his function by exercising authority and/or personal influence to establish long-lasting agreements.

613 In performing his functions within the bait, personal qualities such as
554 wisdom, soundness of ideas, personal persuasiveness are of importance.
[157] But the main basis of his authority is patrilineal succession. The Aqila
[428] has no economic power to speak of. Although many aqila are among the
[556] wealthiest members of their baits, many more are among its poorest. The nature of the economic process and the pastoral life of Awald Ali is such that the economic position of the individual is always flucuating. Nor does the Aqila have any military power at his disposal, or any command of the use of force to back his decisions or to make them binding
[428] upon members of his bait. The main source of compliance to the Aqila's decisions comes from the knowledge that the Aqila has the authority to make such decisions and that he has acquired this authority through the legitimate channel of patrilineal succession.

613 Where membership in formal groups is transmitted by descent, Awlad
428 Ali always choose the patriline. The son of Awlad Ali is regarded as
562
[619] Awlad Ali even though his mother might not be from the tribe, while a woman who marries outside the tribe transmits no rights in the tribe to her children. The importance of agnatic kin is reinforced by an solidary of brothers which is extended laterally to patrilateral cousins. It is also shown in the fact that sons are favored in inheritance usually to the exclusion of daughters. The male line is viewed by Awlad Ali as the natural principle when it comes to anything which is inheritable, whether property or position. In an attempt to defend Shei'eb's position and his right to be the Aqila, one informant told me: "The main purpose that a man has in life is to have sons because it is the son who makes the man live forever. Daughters don't count. A man gives his son

613 428 [562] everything ... his property, his name, and anything he can give him, like the position of the Aqila. This is only natural." While the office of the Aqila is inherited through the male line, there seems to be no special regard for seniority. Any son of the Aqila can succeed him in the position and it is usually left to the Aqila to select the son who is to succeed him. 613 428 593 This decision is not usually the subject matter of brotherly rivalry since the position of Aqila is regarded more as a duty than as a privilege. There has been only one case in the entire area of the Western Desert in which such a decision has lead to open fighting between brothers. "When my father became very old and his eyes bothered him, he told me that I should become the Aqila and could not say no to him," said Shei'eb. "I didn't want to become the Aqila but this was the choice of my father and I have to obey .... You owe it to your father and family to carry on his responsibilities the same way you carry his name." It was patrilineal succession upon which Shei'eb based his case. Most uninterested parties believe that he and he alone had the legitimate claim to the position.

613 627 554 The importance of patrilineal succession as the basis of the Aqila's authority may be better understood by contrasting it to a closely related position, that of the "mardi". A man within a bait may acquire, by virtue of personal qualities, a reputation for wisdom and soundness of opinion which may overshadow that of the Aqila. Such a person becomes known throughout a certain area as a successful mediator and go-between; and therefore is called upon to solve disputes not limited to members of his own bait. He thus acquires an informal position which cuts across a number of baits and sometimes larger political units.

613 627 554 [192] The word mardi is derived from the Arabic verb "yardi" which means to accept or agree upon. The mardi therefore is the person who is accepted by one or both parties to a dispute as a mediator. If he is accepted by only one of the parties, his work is more that of a legal representative of that party. He makes all efforts, using all powers of persuasion to get the other party to concede to the demands of the party he represents. If, on the other hand, he is chosed by both parties to a dispute, he acts as an impartial judge and avoids taking sides in the case. His fame is determined by his ability to achieve permanent, long-lasting settlements. His success in this area depends, in addition to personal qualities, upon the respect he has within his own tribal segment and the weight that tribal segment has among other tribal segments. Similarly, his success and the fame he gets as a mardi may give him considerable influence within the bait. But this influence does not develop [182] [428] into authority because the mardi in this case does not have an established basis for the effective maintenance of that authority, in this case, patrilineal succession.

613 554 682 The other domain within which the Aqila performs his duties is that of the Eila or the amar. His main function within this area is to represent his bait in matters involving the collection or the distribution of bloodmoney within the vengeance group. Within the amar, the aqila is considered successful insofar as he is able to fulfill his bait's financial obligations to the amar. This ability is in turn determined by his success in collecting money from individual members of his bait and/or his willingness to pay from his own money for those members who are unable or unwilling to pay their share. Where kinship ties are strong, the Aqila

613 682 usually has no difficulty collecting the individual shares. His own
[554] financial ability is rarely called upon. When a member is unable to
[178] pay for any reason, his share is divided among the able members. However,
in recent years this seems to be changing, especially among the baits
closely located to the settled communities or the urban centers. Among
613 these baits individual mobility has increased significantly with a large
178 166 number of younger members either leaving the area for the urban centers
464 or accepting salaried jobs with the government organizations. Among
369 certain baits in the area of Burg el-Arab, for example, the percentage
of adult males engaged in such jobs sometimes reaches sixty percent.
More than thirty-five out of fifty-six males constituting bait Asabei'
have a full-time or part-time job.

613 The individualistic attitudes accompanying the dependency on sal-
178 166 aries and living in towns and cities have their effects on the kinship
464 ties among members of these baits. With the prevalence of the individ-
682 ualistic attitudes among members of a certain bait, they become more
369 reluctant to pay their financial obligations and the Aqila finds it more
and more difficult to rely, for the fulfillment of the bait's financial
obligations, on the willingness of members to pay. His success within
613 554 the domain of the amar becomes more determined by his ability to pay
556 from his own money for those members of his bait who refuse or are un-
682 able to pay. Wealth becomes an important asset for the Aqila's per-
formance of his duties within the amar. When this happens, there seems
to be a certain shift in the source of political support for the Aqila.
613 In a well-integrated bait the popularity (or unopopularity) of the Aqila
554 among the other Awaqil of the amar had very little influence on his

613 position as the leader of the bait. The principle of patrilineal succession
554 is so respected in such baits that it overshadows any other consideration.
613 554 This continues to be the case as long as the kinship ties
428 within the bait remain strong. When the kinship ties in a given bait
178 weaken, the principle of patrilineal succession also weakens. This is
[166] more likely to occur in baits where a relatively large number of the
[464] members leave the area permanently or for a more or less prolonged period
of time, seeking jobs on a part or a full-time basis. Many of these
613 178 members maintain only a minimal contact with their respective baits.
166 464 They become more reluctant to fulfill their kinship obligations, especially
561 when they entail any financial liability. The older members
369 complain about how younger persons are less loyal to their elders and
how selfish they have become. "All they care about is their jobs and
the pleasure they get from the city; they are becoming city people."
Younger members, on the other hand, maintain that their reluctance to
fulfill their kinship obligations stems from their feeling that they
do not get anything in return. "Life is expensive and money is hard to
obtain. I cannot make enough money to support myself and my wife and
children and at the same time pay my cousin's financial debts," said a
member of eilat Asabei', who works as a driver with the Desert Organization
in Alexandria.

613 When this happens, there seems to be a tendency toward shifting the
554 emphasis from the bait to the eila or the amar as the source of the political
[556] support of the Aqila. This is turn makes wealth an important
basis of the Aqila's power. No more can the bait impose an ineffective
Aqila on the amar unless it is ready to back him by their own share of
money. If this is lacking as was the case with Shei'eb, there is nothing

613 that prevents the Awaqil of the amar from rallying support around another
554 person.

613 In the case of the Aggary amar Hakim was their choice as the man to
178 replace the original Aqila. What happened in the Aggary amar could never
554 have happened if bait Asabei' were more cohesive than it was or if the kinship ties "were still strong and durable" as one important member of the Sanagrah tribe commented. "If there was any respect to the fore-fathers left, Hakim could never have agreed to replace Shei'eb....Nobody would dare take a position from someone who inherited it from his father.... but bait Asabei' is not as it used to be."

613 The third domain within which the Aqila normally pursues his ac-
628 tivities is that of the wide scope of tribal society in the area. The
554 Aqila represents his bait in all matters involving the bait either as a unit or any particular member of it with other tribal segments. When an individual from the bait is involved in a dispute with a member of another tribal segment, the Aqila acts as the legal representative and the attorney of that member trying to achieve a settlement which is not fair for his client but also fair for the other party. To be successful in this area, the Aqila relies on his own personal qualities and persuasive abilities. If the Aqila is known to be fair and honest, a quick and permanent settlement is usually achieved since he is trusted also by the other party. If, on the other hand, he has the reputation of using dishonest techniques, mistrust prevails and achieving a settlement is usually delayed.

Like the domain of the amar, the present field of activities is no major source for the Aqila's political support in the baits where kinship solidarity is strong. His success in solving disputes between members

His success in solving disputes between members
613 of his baits and outsiders might enhance his prestige within the bait,
628
554 but it is not a substitute for patrilineal succession as the basis of
[428] the Aqila's authority. But in less integrated baits the situation is
[627] different. The ineffectiveness of the Aqila in solving disputes may
lead members of his bait to seek another man as their representative who
would act as a mediator in their behalf. If this continues for a long
time the Aqila might find himself with no functions and the new person
would become a de facto Aqila.

613 The Aqila represents the only effective indigenous form of leader-
554 ship among Awlad Ali at the present time. The camp headman provides
622 another form of leadership on the camp level, but, as mentioned before,
the leadership of the headman is very limited and involves minimal
634 authority. In addition to the indigenous leadership represented by the
622 Aqila, there is the superimposed administrative structure of the govern-
656 ment representative in the form of the "omda" system introduced into the
177 area by the government decree no. 1187 of 1958. The system of omda or
mayorship is essentially that applied to the rural areas of Egypt with
certain modifications to fit the tribal organization and the semi-nomadic
existence of the populations of the Western Desert. In rural areas, the
622 omda is the administrative head of the village. He is appointed by the
[554] government from among the village inhabitants who have certain qualifi-
[212] cations with regard to education (must be able at least to read and
[556] write), wealth (own at least 5 feddans of land in the area), and sound
reputation. As such, the omda system in the rural areas is a territorial
system. The omda's authority covers the territory of the village and
all individuals living in it regardless of their kinship affiliation.

634 "The omda or sheikh is both a blessing and a curse to his tribe,"
554 said one member of the Aggary 'eila. "He can bring benefits to his
619 tribe, but at the same time, he has to report his own people if one of
them breaks the city laws... His position is like that of a double-edged razor."

Most of the people in the area, however, tolerate the negative aspects of the omda's functions as a moderate price for the possible benefits they may get through his position. This is why each tribal segment does its best to be represented by an omda, or at least by a sheikh.

Within his tribal segment he enjoys a great deal of respect. He
does not, by means of position alone, command any power over members of
his group similar to the power the omda of the village has over his
● [613] people. It seems, however, that although the position itself does not
carry with it any power, yet, when the holder of that position is at
the same time a native tribal leader or aqila, it tends to enhance his
position as a tribal leader and to give him more respect among members
of his tribal unit as well as among the rest of the tribal groupings.
634 This may be explained by the fact that the establishment of the omda
554 system in that area did not involve direct interference with the native
619 political system except in a minimal way, mainly to keep the tribal
182 populations in the area from interfering in the progress of various
657 government projects in the area. As such, the system did not impose
613 too many demands upon the tribal loyalties of the omdas or sheikhs.
In the relationship between the government and the tribal population,
the balance so far has been in favor of the latter, who, by means of

634 omda representation, are taking from the government much more than
554 they are giving in return. Being the link between his people and
619 the government in such a system gives the aqila a new basis of
182 political support.
657
● 613

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE: A CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP

593 578 A survey of all disputes occurring among the eilat Aggary in the last five years shows that more than 70% were disputes over "women," the usual phrase referring to cases involving marital relations. Disagreement over matters arising out of quarrels between husband and wife or between one of the spouses and his or her in-laws often constitute the basis for these disputes. 593 578 602 ● 613 [591] What seems to make marriage and the family particularly productive of conflict is the fact that although residence is commonly virilocal, and the majority of the women leaving their own families to live with the husband, the woman retains her membership in her father's family after the marriage, and her agnatic group keeps an active interest in her, even after she is married. Marriage then brings face to face the interests of two groups. These interests affect the relationship between the married couple; and, more importantly, the relationship between the latter affects the interests of their respective groups. This, in many instances, leads to direct conflict between the two groups.

581 671 585 675 The position of the Awlad Ali daraieb with regard to marriage relations is based on the Islamic law with minor modifications to suit the requirements of local life. According to the Muslim law, marriage is a civil contract affected by the request of one party and the agreement of the other. No witnesses are needed for the legalization of the marriage, according to some of the Shi'a sects, although the Sunni schools of Muslim jurisprudence insist that two adult male and two adult females

582 of parley land or a well or to make him a partner in a business or smuggling
557 activities or even as revenge on his uncle by keeping his daughters
582 unmarried. In 1961 the heads of 25 prominant baits of various tribes
557 in the area of Matruh met and decided that the right of ibn 'amm had
178 become a major problem, and that invoking that right when the man had
613 no intention of marrying the girl had resulted in a number of disputes
that became serious over a period of time. They felt that the time was
suitable to revise that right and make it subject to the concept of fair
behavior applicable to other rights. They wrote a new rule which speci-
582 557 fies that the man has the right to prevent his cousin from marrying an
178 outsider or a more distant relative only if he himself intends to marry
613 625 her either in the present or in the reasonable future. If the circum-
stances show that he cannot do so, then he forfeits the right.

[558] To prevent his cousin from marrying another man without a proven
[681] intention on the part of the man to marry her himself in the fore-
seeable future, is considered as an unreasonable behavior for which
ibn 'amm could be liable to pay kabara to his uncle as well as to the
prospective groom. It also denies him the right of taking her away from
[683] her marital residence by force. If he does this, he would be liable to
the compensation for assault. The agreement was signed by the awaqil
and is considered binding as far as the baits they represented are con-
cerned. Other tribal segments in the area refuse to abide by the agree-
ment and consider it as a pretentious departure from the ways of Awlad Ali
which should not be encouraged. Even within the tribal segments involved
in the agreement, there have been reports of individuals who refused to
[629] abide by the agreement. In certain of these latter cases, the ibn 'amm
selected as his mardi a member of a tribal segment not involved in the
agreement and therefore not morally bound to abide by
its contents.

000 agreement and therefore not morally bound to abide by its contents.

582 The lack of serious intentions to marry one's cousin is reflected
in the actual frequency of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage in the
582 area. The following table is taken from the genealogies of five camps
621 in the area of Burg el Arab. The camps belong to different tribal
613 groupings:
619

Agnatic cousins	5
Other cousins	12
Within the bait (other than above)	9
Within the Eila (other than above)	13
Within the tribe (other than above	11
With members of the client tribe	15
With outsiders	9
Total	74

The above table shows that the frequency of patrilateral parallel cousin
marriage is less than eight per cent of the total marriages included in
582 the genealogies of the camps studied. It also shows that the largest
619 frequency of marriage is with a member of a client tribe of Murabiteen.
In the majority of the fifteen cases (eleven cases), it is the woman
who is a member of the Murabiteen tribe while the man is a member of the
Sa'adi tribe. The Murabiteen tribes from which the wives came are not
always the clients of the particular tribal segment to which the husband
[583] belonged. One explanation of the popularity of marriage to the Murabiteen
is that the bridewealth among them is generally less than it is for the
Sa'adi girls. It therefore gives the man the advantage of lower bride-
582 wealth without the lack of choice involved in the cousin marriage. It
is important to bear in mind, however, that the sample given above is
by no means representative of the entire tribal population. Furthermore,
the material presented above was based on the actual marriages at the

593 586 and expenses to the husband that constitutes the most important check
(583) on the otherwise undisputed right of the father to take away his
daughter.

593 The woman, on the other hand, cannot refuse to go with her father,
562 for this means that she would be disobeying him. A woman who disobeys
586 her father is not worthy of his name. He can cut her off from the
family, which means that she is left without any support or protection.
A woman who is cut off from her family is left vulnerable to her husband
and to society. She will have nobody to defend her or to be responsible
for her actions. The responsibility for the woman's behavior is not
transferred by marriage to the husband or his family.

682 If the woman kills or assaults someone or causes damage to property
683 for which compensation is required, her male kin pays the blood money or
602 the compensation on her behalf. It is sometimes stated that if the woman
613
562 has grown-up sons, they, and not her family, pay for her. Since the
593 children belong to their father's family, it may seem like transfering
the responsibility for the woman's actions to her husband's family. However, in all three cases where this happened, the woman was quite old,
her father was dead, and her brothers were either dead or had moved outside the area and had cut off all relations with the area. She also had
no nephews in the area. In such cases, the sons were the woman's closest
male kin.

682 On the other hand, if the woman is the victim of murder or assault
683 for which blood money or compensation is to be paid, the husband is the
593
562 one to benefit from the situation. To understand why this happens, we
have to consider the contractual nature of marriage among Awlad Ali. It
584 583 has been mentioned earlier that before marriage is final, the prospective

684 The contractual nature of marriage is most clearly manifested in
613 the case of the wife's adultery. Since the woman belongs to her agnatic
562
593 group, her behavior has direct effect on the honor of that group.
It is, therefore, the responsibility of her closest kin to keep an eye
on her. If the woman commits adultery, it is her father or her male
kin who is supposed to avenge the honor of the family by taking drastic
actions, including killing, against the adulteress and/or her partner.
But the marriage usually takes the woman away from the close watch of
her family and puts her under the supervision of her husband who becomes
entrusted with the duty of guarding her, and therefore partially responsible
for her action. His responsibility is enhanced by the fact that
although the wife's behavior does not affect him or his family, it has
a definite effect on the honor and reputation of his children (Abou-Zeid,
1965).

684 The gravest insult that one can direct to a person in the area is
578 to describe his mother of being of disrepute. In their joking relations,
562 young men usually refer to eachother's father as being a dog or a theif
593
[522] or a cheat, but none could refer to the mother. A woman of questionable
reputation affects the reputation of her family in general and her children
in particular. Any reference to the mother in the form of an accusation
is supposed to be cleaned only by blood. Not only does this apply
to the woman's voluntary behavior, but also to her physical and mental
(934) condition. If a woman loses her mind, the news is usually kept a secret,
684 especially by her children. The responsibility for retaliation in the
613 case of adultery, then, is divided between her nearest kinsman and her
562 husband. This gives both sides a vague and undetermined right of revenge.
593 This division of the right of revenge explains the infrequency

684 of drastic actions taken in cases of adultery. Of the fourteen cases
613 562 of adultery that I examined furing my field work, none resulted in the
593 killing of the adulteress, and only three resulted in the murder of her
[114] partner. In all three cases where the adulterer was killed, the avenger
684 683 682 was the husband; and in all three cases, the husband had to pay the
613 bloodmoney to the murdered man's kin group. His payment of the blood-
money, among other things, may indicate that the right of the husband
to kill the adulterer is not completely accepted among Awlad Ali. All
[628] agree, however, that such killings never result in blood feuds because
of the shameful circumstances in which the victim dies.

684 It was very difficult to obtain any detailed or reliable information
126 about adultery cases. All the above mentioned fourteen cases were gath-
[124] ered from the informants, twelve of which were cases which had already
been solved. For the two cases which were still open at the time of
the study, information was quite vague. Usually such cases are conducted
with a great amount of secrecy, with the involved parties referring to
them as cases of theft, or merely by saying that the cases involve
women. Only when the adultery leads to the killing of the adulteress
or the adulterer are more details publicly known about the case.

684 But while the right to retaliate for the shameful action of an
adulterous wife is vague and diffused, the right of the husband for com-
pensation from the adulterer remains clear and undisputed. In this re-
sepct, adultery is treated very much like theft; the adulterer has stolen
the husband's exclusive right to his wife's sexual activities. The com-
[583] pensation for this offense is estimated at L.E. 20, in addition to the
[586] mahr, if the husband decides to divorce his wife as a result of her
adultery.

681 this variation is that committing the adultery within the camp of the
558 husband constitutes a greater humiliation, since it affects his honor
684 among his neighbors. Also, adultery inside the tent of the couple carries
with it the possibility of rape, while adultery outside the tent
at least implies an element of consent on the part of the wife. The
[583] penalty in the case of adultery is the return by the wife's father of
the mahr and all other expenses of the marriage ceremony and the gifts
the husband had presented during the engagement period. This is a
further indication that the father of the wife is still responsible
for her behavior even after she is married. It is in this respect that
the crime of adultery differs from theft. In the case of theft, the
[685] thief has to return twice the amount stolen and in the case of repeated
offenders, four times the amount stolen. This is in addition to a certain
amount of money as kabara. Yet, in the latter case the kabara is
not specified and is subject to the proof by the victim that the theft
constituted an insult to him. This insult is assumed in the case of
adultery, which makes the kabara in the case of adultery part of the
punishment--an integral part of the punishment. The kabara is not among
[613] the collective responsibility of the amar and is paid only by the person
involved, unless he is totally unable to pay or refuses to pay. In such
426 cases, his closest male kin (his father, son, or brother) pays on his
593 behalf with the understanding that such payment constitutes a debt which
681 should be repaid. The person paying on his behalf in this case can go
684 to his tent and take by force anything of value, such as blankets, utensils,
558 or even sheep and goats, and keep them as pawns until the debt is
paid.

682 person in the crowd. So, Do'ah volunteered to be lowered down
672 to clear the well. He then proceeded to the well, glanced at the
312 bottom of it, and threw a small stone to see if there was any water left in it. The stone made a faint splash indicating that there were a few inches of water. After that, he examined the rope and the equipment used. Satisfied with everything, he tied the rope around himself and was lowered very slowly and carefully by the crowd at the top of the well. As Do'ah was more than half-way down, the rope broke, and he fell. When the crowd called him, Do'ah answered in a faint voice telling them that he was hurt but that he would be all right. The crowd then looked for a spare rope to lower somebody to get Do'ah but could not find any in a nearby camp. They sent a man to get a rope from the next camp, but by the time a man was lowered to get Do'ah, he was dead; he had drowned in six inches of water.

682 Since the place of the accident was close to the police sta-
672 tion, word got to the officer who, after investigating the case,
[625] ruled it as accidental death. But while the government authorities
[613] were investigating the case, members of the Bait to which Do'ah belonged were proceeding with the customary ways of Awlad Ali to claim bloodmoney for their dead kinsman. The idea was that a life had been lost, and that regardless of the police investigation, someone must pay for it. The question was who. Since the well belonged to Hemeida, Do'ah's relatives insisted that he was the one to pay the bloodmoney. Not denying the fact that someone had to pay for the death of Do'ah, Hemeida insisted that the one to pay was the

683
682 feet after that and left." It seems that later the wound got infected.
672 Six months after the incident, Selouma was taken to the
[578] hospital with an infected wound, and three days later he died from
that infection. Selouma's son, Ali, demanded that Muftah pay a
full bloodmoney (L.E. 400) for the death of his father, since the
death was directly caused by the wound inflicted by Muftah. Muftah
denied the charges and claimed that the infected wound which caused
683 the death of Selouma was not the one inflicted by the stone. Mediations
682 continued for some time, and when no agreement was achieved,
672 the aqilas of the two baits to which the parties belonged declared
695 that the decision should be made by the oath which Muftah had to
613 take if he insisted on his claims that the wound was not caused by
his action. Since the case involved the life of a man, Muftah had
to be supported in his oath by fifty-five adult male members of
[671] his 'amar, or 'eila. In accordance with the Daraieb, the selection
[778] was done by members of Selouma's Bait who also selected the tomb of
the saint where the oath would be undertaken. On the date the oath
was to be taken, the disputing parties, as well as all the notables
of friendly tribal segments who were invited to witness the oath,
went to the tomb of the saint. As they started with the procedures,
[784] two of Muftah's cousins who were to support him in the oath and his
uncle refused to swear on the grounds that they were not sure that
Muftah was telling the truth and therefore could not subject themselves
to the supernatural hazards of taking a false oath. Attempts
by other members who were to support Muftah were made to force the
three men to swear, since their refusal meant that the bloodmoney

683 was to be paid unconditionally and consequently would cost all
682 members of the amar; but all these attempts failed. At this point,
672 there was no doubt on the part of the attending crowd about Muftah's
695 613 responsibility for the death of Selouma. The question was, how much
had he to pay. The amount requested by Selouma's son was that for "intentional" killing on the basis that Muftah had willfully thrown the rock knowing that it might harm Selouma, especially considering his age.

683 After long and intensive negotiations with the interested
682 parties, a Mi'ad was set in which it was announced that Muftah had
672 to pay the amount of L.E. 200. In his reasoning, he stipulated
627 that the wound which had caused the death of Selouma, although it was intentional on the part of Muftah, was inflicted by a stone which in itself is not a lethal weapon, and therefore the death was an unintentional one for which the bloodmoney is customarily estimated at L.E. 300. He also stated that in the excitement that
[845] followed the death of Selouma, Muftah's pregnant wife had lost the child. The bloodmoney for the still-born infant was estimated at L.E. 100, which was deducted from the amount of bloodmoney that Muftah had to pay.

CASE #3: The Case of the Trespasser

311 This case occurred during the year of the fieldwork which was
423 the second dry year the area experienced. Rain had not fallen ex-
613 [132] cept in a very few places. One of these places was near the small
town of Sidi Barrani in which the land belonging to Yadem and his Bait was found. Yadem had sown his barley which at that time had grown to about five feet high. Surrounding the cultivated land

311 was a large area of grazing land which also belonged to the Bait
423
613 of Yadem. The area attracted a large number of tribesmen who
233 brought their herds for grazing. One of these was Kuraiem from
311 Awlad Kharouf tribal segment. He brought his wife and child and
619
613 a herd of more than two hundred sheep and goats. Although it is
not proper for one to cultivate the land belonging to another
tribal segment, yet, when it comes to grazing land, no such restriction is imposed. Only the permission of the aqila of that
tribal segment is required, and even that is granted so automatically that many tribesmen do not bother to ask for such permission. Kuraiem took this permission for granted and pitched his
233 tent in the grazing land of Yadem and his Bait. Yadem, however,
311 was disturbed because he thought that Kuraiem grazed his flocks in
578 an area very close to his cultivated barley, so close that he feared
that the animals might eat the growing barley. When Yadem asked
Kuraiem to move a little further and Kuraiem refused, they entered
into an argument during which Yadem told him that if he did not
move by the following day, he would break his neck. The following
morning Yadem went with his brother to see if Kuraiem was still
there. Both Yadem and his brother were armed with heavy sticks.
As they reached Kuraiem's tent, they hit him with the sticks on
[682] the head. Kuraiem fell on the ground, and they kept hitting him
until he was dead.

682 In due course, Kuraiem's family claimed L.E. 400 bloodmoney
672 for the intentional killing of Kuraiem. Yadem and his family rejected the claim and insisted that the killing was unintentional. The
[627] Mi'ad was held, and the two Mardis selected by the two parties

682 agreed that the sticks were not by nature lethal weapons. The
672 latter, according to the tribal law, are only guns and knives,
627 since they give the victims no chance to defend himself. They
ruled the case unintentional killing for which only L.E. 300
should be paid.

682 Since Yadem and his brother were arrested by the police for
625 their crime, the payment of the bloodmoney was postponed until
692 the case was settled according to the state legal system. Only
half of the bloodmoney was paid and the rest was postponed until
the case was decided upon by the legal system and Yadem released.
682 This is obviously a case in which the nature of the killing was
672 decided upon by drawing upon the material aspect of criminal
673 causation. The nature of the weapon used was the major determinant
[411] of the crime. Only guns and knives are defined as lethal; all
others are non-lethal by nature, although they might cause the
death of the victim. Death caused by a non-lethal weapon is considered as unintentional regardless of whether or not the actor intended the results, while death by a lethal weapon, even without the intention of killing, is classified as intentional killing, as appears in the following case.

CASE #4: The Case of the Threatened Tribesman

● 613 For more than five years Bait El-Mawi from the Sheibat tribe
628 had been in a continuous state of feud with Bait El-Asi from the
Gemeiat tribe. One night, during a Khamasein sand storm when visability was extremely low, Abd-el-Galil from Bait El-Mawi heard a noise outside his tent, and the dogs were barking indicating that a stranger was there. Being sure that someone was approaching

613 the tent and fearing that he might have been a member of the
628 feuding Bait intending to harm him or members of his family,
Galil took his gun and went outside to see who was there. He
called on the person to identify himself. When he got no answer,
he warned him that unless he identify himself, he (Galil) would
fire his gun in the air as a warning. After a short period of no
613 response, Galil fired his gun in the air. A moment later, Galil
628 heard a cry coming from the direction of a small hill at the side
682 of the tent. When Galil went there, he found Salem, a member of
a neighboring camp, lying on the ground with a bullet wound in his
stomach. He told Galil that his wife was sick and that he had
come to borrow Galil's donkey to take her to the doctor in the
nearby medical center. He had taken the short cut to Galil's tent
when he was hit by the bullet which Galil had fired in the air.
Galil took his wounded neighbor to the medical center, but Salem
died before they reached it.

682 The Mi'ad was held, and Galil and his family had to pay L.E. 400
672 to the victim's kin group. The amount was that specified for in-
627 tentional killing, since the wound that caused the death was in-
673 flicted by a lethal weapon.

CASE #5: The Case of the Startled Shepherd

233 This case involves Idris, a poor member of the Sheresat tribal
[464] segment. He earned his living by working as a hired shepherd for
[619] 'Awwad from Bait Ibrahim in the area of Gharbaniat. During the dry
[312] season, each shepherd takes his flocks to the water wells near the
coast and leaves them there for three or four hours to get their
fill of drinking water. That afternoon, Idris, waiting for the

233 animals to drink, sat on the edge of the well with his feet in the
cool water of the pool completely absorbed in his thoughts amidst
233 the quiet surroundings. Passing by the pool at that time was Mahdi
576 from a neighboring tribal segment. Seeing Idris (whom he had not
165 known), he shouted the customary greeting, "Peace on you." Startled
by the voice of Mahdi, Idris lost his balance and fell in the deep
water of the pool. Mahdi rushed to help him, but the water was too
deep, and Idris drowned. Feeling sorry for Idris, Mahdi took the
flock and went back to the camp of Idris where he informed the
682 latter's wife of what had happened. A few days later, Mahdi was
627 paid a visit by Sheikh Elewa, the aqila of Bait Asabei' and known
[613] mardi in the area who informed Mahdi that the family of Idris was
demanding the payment of the sum of L.E. 300 for the death of their
682 relative. A Mi'ad was set for the following week. In that Mi'ad,
627 and after Mahdi admitted that it was his greeting that had startled
672 Idris and caused him to fall in the well, the two Mardis represent-
613 ing the two parties agreed that the payment of the sum of three
hundred pounds was in order and that Mahdi and his amar must pay it
to the victim's family as soon as possible. At first, Mahdi seemed
to accept the judgment of the two Mardis, especially when both were
prominant members of some of the influential tribal segments in the
area. But Mahdi was a poor man, and his amar was very small in num-
ber, which made the payment of the bloodmoney almost impossible.
682 Although appeal in the ordinary legal sense does not exist in such
627 a system like that of Awlad Ali, where no judgment is forced upon
672 695 any of the disputing parties, and where the pronouncement of the

682 settlement is usually made after the parties have agreed to it,
627 yet, in certain instances where one of the parties later feels that
672 the settlement was not just or that he was coerced into accepting
695 it, he may ask for a second Mi'ad during which new procedures start
in the case. In the present case, although Mahdi had originally
accepted the judgment of the awaqil, as time passed and he realized that he was unable to pay the bloodmoney, he started to question
682 tion the feasibility of the settlement. He discussed the matter
672 with Sheikh Suliman el-Gerery from the Murabiteen tribe of Gerera,
695 a tribe whose members are feared throughout the area for the belief
554 that they have certain supernatural powers. Sheikh Suliman himself
792 [776] is highly respected, and people believe that after his death he will
become "wali" or a saint. After hearing Mahdi's complaint, Sheikh
Suliman told him that the settlement was unjust and told him that he
would do something about it. The following Thursday, Sheikh Suliman
called on Mahdi and asked him to bring his donkey and follow him.
They rode to a small desert town called Bahig where the local market
• 613 is held every Thursday. On market day, the awaqil of various tribal
517 segments usually gather in front of the general store in the town
571 drinking tea and chatting until their sons or the younger members
443 576 of their families sell the sheep and buy the necessary items. Everyone passing by the gathering is expected to greet the gathering, getting off his donkey as a sign of respect to the prominent people.
[689] Failure to greet a fellow tribesman is considered a serious offense
liable to a fine of more than L. 50 and ten goats in certain cases.
[673] It is considered a very serious crime. One informant once told me,
000

000 627 613 682 695 own home." The following morning a Mi'ad was called for by the two aqila who achieved the first settlement, and in it, Mahdi was released from his obligation to pay the bloodmoney, although he was asked to pay the sum of fifty pounds to the widow of the deceased as a gesture of friendship.

CASE #6: The Case of the Careless Guest

574 682 The present case involved Ali from the Geneishat tribe who lives in the desert town of Matruh where he has a general store. He goes on frequent visits to Alexandria to get supplies for his store. On one of these trips he passed by the camp of 'Awad from a different tribal segment. Hungry and tired, Ali decided to spend the night at the camp and continue his trip the following morning. He went to the first tent in the camp which happened to be that of 'Awad, who welcomed him and ordered his wife to prepare dinner for the guest. He then invited other members of the camp to have tea with the guest as a gesture of hospitality. When Ali sat down to eat, he took off his shoes, and put his rifle against a pile of rugs and blankets behind him. As the group was chatting, a goat belonging to one of the invited neighbors entered the tent where the men were sitting. Afraid that it might soil the carpets which he had put out for the guest, Awad chased the goat out of the tent. On its way out, the goat touched the guest's gun which fired, killing Hussein, the brother-in-law of one of the neighbors.

682 627 The local authorities were notified of the incident, but after conducting a preliminary investigation, they filed the case as accidental death. The tribal proceedings continued, however. After

105 The judicial process among Awlad Ali of the Western Desert of
Egypt has been dealt with in the context of political organization of
105 the group. The main feature of the political organization of Awlad Ali
613 is the absence of centralized leadership. The only formally recognized
leadership is that of the aqila, the leader of the bait tribal segment.
105 The sources of the aqila's authority derive from a number of sources,
613 one of which is his judicial role. It is through him that disputes involving
627 members of his bait are solved. The process by which he performs
this crucial function is that of informal mediation in which both
the personal qualities of the aqila, as well as the weight of his tribal
[692] segment, play an important role. This is especially important in a society
with no court system or formal hearing and where durability of any
settlement depends on its being accepted by the parties involved.

105 The main aim of the judicial process is to affect reconciliation of
182 the parties and to restore a certain degree of social order and cohesion
627 that was disrupted by the dispute. The need to restore the social order
[619] and to maintain friendly relations between tribal members is a response
to certain aspects of the natural and social environment in which the
105 group finds itself. Natural resources in the area are very meager, and
182 subsistence activities require that the tribesmen constantly move with
619 233 their herds for pasture throughout an area already divided among the
various tribal segments. Since the place and nature of pasture differ
from one year to the next, the identity of the specific tribal unit which
would be sought for help varies correspondingly. This creates a general
feeling of dependency that characterizes the social relations in the area.

sections of a tribe may be opposed to one another they regard 619
themselves as an undivided group in opposition to neighbouring
tribes, and are so regarded by their neighbours. Thus a Qalbati
is only a Qalbati in Hasa country. In 'Abaidat or Bara'asa
country he is a Hasi. Likewise a Darsi or an 'Abidi in contrast
to members of other tribes regards the whole of the Darsa or the
'Abid as his people, his tribal brothers.

Each tribe in this commonly accepted sense has its *watan*, its 619
homeland, its soil, its arable, its pastures, and its wells; and 421
each has its camel-brand which is also carved on the tomb- [764]
stones of its dead. The tribal lands are vested in the tribe, which
has residual rights in them. They cannot, therefore, be alienated
to other tribes without the consent of the whole tribe. A tribe 619
is conceived of as a huge family descended from a common 614
ancestor, from whom the tribe generally takes its name. Hence
its segments can be figured either as a series of political sections
or as genealogical branches of a clan.

A tribe is divided into several, generally two or three, 619
primary divisions, or sub-tribes, which own well-defined portions 613 •
of the tribal territory, in most cases running in strips unbroken
by intrusive elements. These primary divisions are of the same
pattern as the tribe of which they form part. Each division has
its *watan*, which its members own and defend collectively. They
believe that they are descended from a common ancestor, who
is generally a son of the ancestor of the tribe. Primary tribal
divisions split into secondary divisions, and secondary divisions
into tertiary divisions, and so on. Each of the smaller divisions is
a replica of the larger ones and has the same preferential and
exclusive rights in its lands, an encroachment on which by
another division will lead to fighting. Each has within the
tribal brand its special lineage markings. The members of each
division also consider that they are descended from a common
ancestor who, in his turn, is descended from the ancestor of the
larger division of which they form a section. The further the
sub-division the more the resultant groups take on the complexion of kinship aggregates, rather than of political aggregates.

These kinship aggregates or extended family groups are the
basic units of tribal life. They are called *biyut* (sing. *bait*). The [423]
tribe may be the residual owner of land and water but the
biyut are the owners in use. Their members live in the same

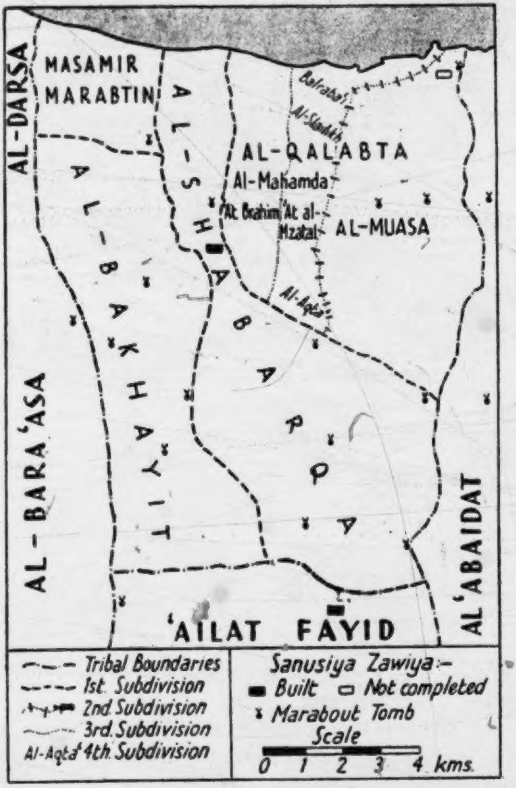
619 stretch of tribal territory, move during the rains to the same
613 grazing grounds, use the same wells during the dry season, and
cultivate adjacent strips of arable. The members of a *bait* have
a lively sense of solidarity, and this is most evident in fighting
and feuds. It is their common duty to avenge a slain kinsman
and they share the *diya*, indemnity, should they accept it in
[672] the place of a life. They are jointly responsible for a wrong any
one of them may commit. The smaller *biyut* are often identical
[621] with camps, usually from five to ten tents, in grazing grounds,
and several closely related *biyut* camp near together in the
vicinity of springs and wells in the summer, their combined
camps then amounting sometimes to over a hundred tents.

619 What has been said above about tribal structure applies only
to the free tribes and the larger client tribes living on their own
land. The client tribes which are split up and scattered throughout
Cyrenaica are not tribes in a political, but only in an ethnic,
619 sense. It will be found that in any of the main tribes stranger
614 groups, sometimes of client origin, have attached themselves
608 to the clan dominant in the tribal area and through some fiction,
myth, or fraud, have grafted their branch of descent on to the
genealogical tree of this clan. The Bedouin use the word *laf* to
describe this process and they say that kinship established in this
way may become as strong as kinship of blood.

619 The structure of a tribe is expressed in terms of the lineage
614 system of the clan dominant in its territory, the tribal segments
613 being associated with branches of descent from the ancestor of
this clan. The primary tribal sections are identified with lineages
descended from some of this ancestor's descendants in the male
line; the secondary tribal sections are identified with lineages
descended from more of his descendants farther down the line
of descent; and so on till the smallest territorial segments and
the smallest lineages are reached. Thus a lineage considered as
a branch of a clan consists of all those persons who trace their
descent through the male line to a common ancestor, but it can
also be, and in speech often is, conceived of politically as an
agnatic group of this kind together with stranger and *Marabtin*
accretions which occupy its territory and make common cause
with it in disputes with other tribes or segments of the same
tribe.

A simple example is given in illustration of tribal segmentation

and of the consistency between lineages of a clan and segments 619
of a tribe. In explanation of it a few words must first be said 614
about the terms *qabila*, *'aila*, and *bait*. *Qabila* is the word 613
generally used to denote a tribe or primary tribal division.


AL-DARSA
MASAMIR
MARABTIN
AL-SHABARQA
AL-BAKHAYIT
AL-QALABTA
Balrabat
Al-Slaibith
Al-Mahamda
At Ibrahim
At al-Mzatal
AL-MUASA
Al-Aqta
AL-BARA'ASA
AL 'ABAIDAT
'AILAT FAYID
Tribal Boundaries
1st. Subdivision
2nd. Subdivision
3rd. Subdivision
Al-Aqta 4th. Subdivision
Sanusiya Zawiya:-
Built
Not completed
Marabout Tomb
Scale
0 1 2 3 4 kms.

102
131
619
778
795*
613

The Divisions of the Hasa Tribe.

'Ailat are the lineages into which a clan is divided and hence 619
the sections of a tribe of various sizes in which these lineages are 614
found and after which they take their names. *Biyut* are small 613
lineages, or extended families, with a depth of five or six generations from the present day to their founders. It must be noted, however, that all these terms are relative and are used in a more or less comprehensive sense according to the context.

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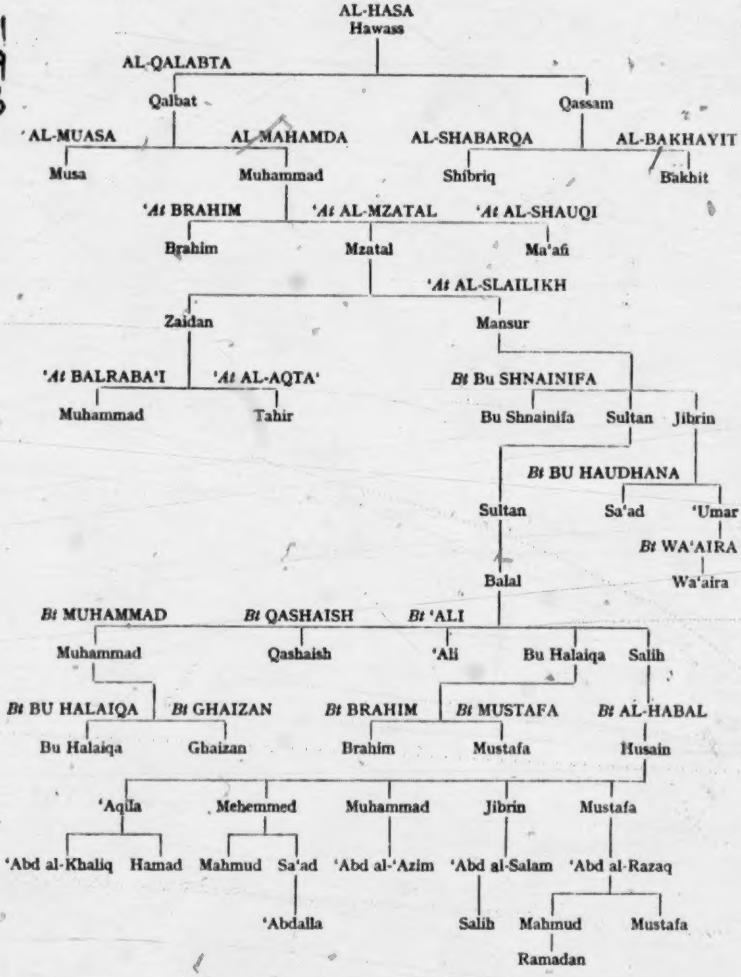
• 613


AL-HASA
Hawass
AL-QALABTA
Qalbat
Qassam
'AL-MUASA
AL-MAHAMDA
AL-SHABARQA
AL-BAKHAYIT
Musa
Muhammad
Shibriq
Bakhit
'At BRAHIM
'At AL-MZATAL
'At AL-SHAUQI
Brahim
Mzatal
Ma'afi
'At AL-SLAILIKH
Zaidan
Mansur
'At BALRABA'I
'At AL-AQTA'
Bt Bu SHNAINIFA
Muhammad
Tahir
Bu Shnainifa
Sultan
Jibrin
Bt BU HAUDHANA
Sultan
Sa'ad
'Umar
Bt WA'AIRA
Balal
Wa'aira
Bt MUHAMMAD
Bt QASHAISH
Bt 'ALI
Muhammad
Qashaish
'Ali
Bu Halaiqa
Salih
Bt BU HALAIQA
Bt GHAIZAN
Bt BRAHIM
Bt MUSTAFA
Bt AL-HABAL
Bu Halaiqa
Ghaizan
Brahim
Mustafa
Husain
'Aqila
Mehemmed
Muhammad
Jibrin
Mustafa
'Abd al-Khaliq
Hamad
Mahmud
Sa'ad
'Abd al-'Azim
'Abd al-Salam
'Abd al-Razaq
'Abdalla
Salih
Mahmud
Mustafa
Ramadan

Names of tribal sections are printed in capital letters.
'At = 'Ailat.
Bt = Bait.

619
613
If reference be made to the accompanying map and genealogical chart it will be seen that the Hasa tribe is made up of three primary sections, the Qalabta, the Shabarqa, and the Bakhayit, distributed in strips running from north to south, which are very typical and give to each section equal con-

tions of soil, water, and grazing. We trace the segmentation of 619
the Qalabta alone and see that it has two divisions, the Muasa 613
and the Mahamda. We follow the line of Muhammad alone and note that it splits into three lineages, *'Ailat* Brahim, *'Ailat* al-Mzatal, and *'Ailat* al-Shauqi (there is dispute, arising from quarrels over land, about the legitimacy of this branch). From Mzatal descend the three minor *'ailat*, al-Slailikh, al-Aqta', and Balraba'i. Following only the first line we note that *'Ailat* al-Shlailikh then divides into the various *biyut* shown on the chart, al-Habal, Mustafa, Brahim, &c., the male membership of only one of which, *bait* al-Habal, is presented in the genealogy. Where the name of an *'aila* or *bait* is different from that of its founder, it almost invariably means that the founder's nickname has been used, the Cyrenaican Bedouin having a partiality for nicknames.

Each section of a tribe, from the smallest to the largest, has 619
its Shaikh or Shaikhs. The tribal system, typical of segmentary 554
structures everywhere, is a system of balanced opposition between tribes and tribal sections from the largest to the smallest divisions, and there cannot therefore be any single authority in a tribe. Authority is distributed at every point of the tribal structure and political leadership is limited to situations in which a tribe or a segment of it acts corporately. With a tribe this only happens in war or in dealings with an outside authority which for its own purposes recognizes the tribe as an
administrative unit. There cannot, obviously, be any absolute [643]
authority vested in a single Shaikh of a tribe when the fundamental principle of tribal structure is opposition between its [671]
segments, and in such segmentary systems there is no state and no government as we understand these institutions; and criminal law is absent and civil law exists only in a very rudi-
mentary form. Consequently the exact status of a Shaikh can 554
only be defined in terms of a complicated network of kinship ties and structural relations. It is only necessary here to emphasize that his social position is unformalized and that he must in no sense be regarded as a ruler or administrator. Bedouin respect their Shaikhs, but they do not regard them as superiors. Rather their influence and wealth are considered as capital to be drawn on for the benefit of whoever is in need of them. So long as a Shaikhly family can keep their prestige,

554 derived from the strength of their section, their wealth, their
traditional place in Bedouin society, and the character of their
leading members, so long only are they regarded as Shaikhs of
whatever the grade may be.

In recording his impressions of the Aulad 'Ali tribe the
554 generous and unfortunate Pacho gives an excellent picture of
619 the Bedouin Shaikh's position in tribal society. He says that it
[642] is difficult to discover any government in their society, which
might be called aristocratic, though it is such in form rather
than in substance. The precarious authority of the Shaikhs
rests not on force but on the renown and esteem they enjoy in
554 the tribe. He adds that at the time of his visit it had become
customary, after Muhammad 'Ali Pasha had broken the
619 tribe, for the Shaikhs to get their titles confirmed by the
*648 Pasha of Egypt but that when they returned to their camps
with the robes of honour bestowed on them by the Pasha of
Egypt, these garments, far from adding to their prestige and
making them objects of regard, excited derision and aversion
unless the backing of the tribe had preceded the approval of
the Pasha.[1]

554 The Italian lawyer Savarese has also written an illuminating
description of the status of a Cyrenaican Bedouin Shaikh. Each
● 613 *bait* and each *'aila* has its Shaikh, chosen for his age and
wisdom or for his prowess, though the Shaikhship is generally
[556] hereditary in certain families. A Shaikh receives obedience and
respect from his dependants but ought to be rich because the
demands of hospitality are considerable. He takes a leading part
in the settlement of disputes and must have the tact necessary
to maintain the unity of the group in opposition to other groups
of the same order. He represents his group in relations with
these other groups and in the larger group of which it forms part.
In matters in which his group as a whole is concerned he takes
the advice of the Shaikhs of its divisions. He commands the
men of the group in war and he collects the tribute due from
554 the group to the Government. Nevertheless, a Bedouin Shaikh,
however large the group he represents, lives and dresses like his
fellow Bedouin, though, being rich, his tent may be larger than
most and he has more horses and they are more richly appointed.

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[1] J. R. Pacho, *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque et les Oasis d'Audjelah et de Maradèh*, 1827, p. 67.

of Cyrenaica.[1] The Bedouin remember with gratitude, as I have 771
often heard them declare, the moral and cultural benefits 797
brought to them by the Order. If they have fallen from the low 793
religious and literary standards to which the Sanusiya raised a 795*
fraction of them it is due to the virtual extinction of its teaching office during their long struggle with the Italians.

II

The Bedouin the Grand Sanusi found in Cyrenaica were not 771
only Muslims but also inveterate devotees of saints, the 792
Marabtin (sing. *Marabat*) or Marabouts, as they are called in 793
European accounts of North Africa, and the Grand Sanusi was 776
in the long tradition of these holy men. Therefore, although I 778
have touched on the matter in Chapter I, I need not excuse myself for treating it again in its Cyrenaican context, for Bedouin attachment to the Sanusiya springs from their personal devotion to the Grand Sanusi and his family, and not the other way round, and the Grand Sanusi derived his sanctity, and thereby his power, from the fact that he was a Marabout. The Bedouin are familiar with saints and ignorant of Orders. To them the Grand Sanusi was a saint and wonderworker, and a man with *baraka*, an ample measure of God's grace which flowed through him to ordinary folk; but there was nothing extraordinary about him. They knew his kind of old. When he died his tomb became a shrine, the largest and richest in Cyrenaica it is true, but only one among very many, dating from the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, through the Martyrs who were killed fighting for the faith in Cyrenaica, to the pious and learned
men of yesterday and the day before. His successors, by their [613] ●
kinship with him, and in virtue of their spiritual legacy from him, became heirs to his *baraka*; and so, to a lesser degree, have the heirs of the other religious teachers who came to Cyrenaica from the west, who died and were buried there, and whose descendants are the *Marabtin bil baraka* lineages of to-day. The authority the Grand Sanusi had over the Bedouin of Arabia and North Africa can be parallelled by the careers of many holy

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[1] Giuseppe Macaluso, *Turchi, Senussi e Italiani in Libia*, 1930, p. 32; Giglio, op. cit., p. 22; and Arcangelo Ghisleri (quoting Andrea Pedretti), *Tripolitania e Cirenaica dal Mediterraneo al Sahara*, 1912, p. 132. [713]

771 men in North Africa whose families still retain much wealth and
792 influence. It was this Marabout status of the Grand Sanusi in
793 the eyes of the Bedouin which won him their respect: it was the
776 organization of the Sanusiya Order, an organization the earlier
778 Marabouts did not have, which enabled him to turn this respect
into a theocracy.

*175 There is more than one explanation of the origin of the word
792 '*Marabat*'. That generally accepted is that it derives from the
root RBT, to bind, and hence from '*ribat*', a fortified convent,
619 inhabited by warrior-monks, found on the marches of Islam in
[192] its early days of expansion by arms. The word later became
attached to the tribes which settled in Andalousia under the
leadership of the Saharan tribe of the Sanhaja and was corrupted
into the European 'Almoravides'. After the fall of the Sanhaja
dynasty in the twelfth century part of the *Marabtin* tribes fell
back into central and southern Morocco, whence many individuals
moved eastwards. Some settled in Cyrenaica,
generally on their return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and
their fanaticism, asceticism, ability to read and write, and thaumaturgic
powers, impressed the simple Bedouin, who accepted
them as holy men and magicians and used them to write charms,
to perform religious rites, and to act as mediators in intertribal
• [613] disputes. Sometimes, as we have seen, these men
founded lineages which, dwelling under the shadow of their
saintly forbears, became nuclei of social agglomerations which
have developed in course of time into tribal groups, thus taking
the shape of the tribal society in which they lived. The word
[192] '*Marabtin*' thus came to mean holy men (and their tombs) and
then, in addition, tribes tracing their descent, or supposed
descent, from these holy men and also, finally, in Cyrenaica,
tribes who are clients of the great *Sa'adi* tribes which own the
earth and water.

778 Some of the better known of the Cyrenaican saints, but by
776 no means all, have gleaming white cupolas, supported by four
walls, erected over their tombs, and inside the walls is a *tub*, a
792 wooden box, over the grave, and this is covered with coloured
cloth on which are inscribed passages from the Koran. Inside
also are often a few pages from sacred books, occasionally a few
small coins given by the local Bedouin, and any property, such
as tents or ploughs, the Bedouin have wished to deposit in a

Marabouts of the kind I have described were still coming to 792
Cyrenaica from the west up to the time when the Grand Sanusi 793
began his preaching in the country. Two of them whom he 795*
found there, already living among the Bedouin, the one on the
western and the other on the eastern part of the plateau, teaching
them and settling their disputes, became his followers: Sidi
Ahmad bin 'Abdalla al-Sakkuri, a late arrival from the west
whose descendants became Shaikhs of the zawiya of al-Marj,
and Sidi al-Martadi Farkash, of an old *Marabtin* family of
Cyrenaica, whose descendants became Shaikhs of the lodges at
Umm al-Razam, Bishara, and Martuba. But the great majority
of the Grand Sanusi's helpers were men who had come with him
from the west, chiefly from Algeria. Other *Ikhwan* families, [613]
mostly of the Khattabi lineage, of which the Sanusi family are
a branch, came later, also from Algeria, in the time of Sayyid
al-Mahdi. To the Bedouin they were all Marabouts and when [778]
they had in their lifetimes a reputation for piety or learning
their tombs in the Sanusiya lodges in which they resided became
places of cult like those of their forerunners all over Cyrenaica.
But unlike the earlier Marabouts these Sanusiya Brothers were
not only holy men. They were also members of a fraternity, of
an organization. The Sanusiya Order was thus not only heir 795*
to the accumulated capital of the Marabouts, but was able to 182
exploit it as a corporation. It incorporated a number of isolated
cults into a single wider cult, fractionized, it is true, by tribal
particularisms, but, all the same, brought under a common
organization. Each lodge of the Order was a cult centre, but it
was something more: it was part of a general cult directed
through the lodges towards the Head of the Order. The tribes 619
of Cyrenaica became through the Order linked from above in a 182
common, if loose, organization under a single, sacred, Head. 795*
This was possible only because a tribal system already existed 793
uniting the different tribes, in spite of their feuds and enmities,
into a society which, though lacking political unity, rested on
common sentiments, a common way of life, and a common
lineage structure.

What gave stability to this new relationship between the [648]*
Bedouin tribes and the Sanusiya Order, turning the sacred Head
into a secular leader and the religious organization into a
government, and changed a loose federation of tribes into a

Order concurred. Thus we find charge of a zawiya continuing 795*
in the hands of a single family to the point at which Muhammad 793
Yahiya bin al-Sanusi bin 'Umar al-Ashhab was appointed by 423
Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif to succeed his father as Shaikh of Msus 428
at the age of sixteen. Some of these families sent their roots so 602
deep that not only did they obtain what amounted to hereditary
rights to a particular lodge, but controlled several lodges.
Such were the influential families of Ghumari, Kalili, Farkash,
and Ashhab, and the Khattabi families.

Hence we find to-day that many of the lodges are in hereditary
charge of a family of Shaikhs who consider that they have
a pre-emptive claim to its directorship and to enjoyment of its
revenues, a claim backed by tribal opinion and by the acquiescence
of the present Head of the Order. Thus the Dardafi
family may be said to own the Shahhat lodge, the Isma'ili
family to own the Fayidiya lodge, the 'Ammur family to own
the Qafanta lodge, and so on. So much is this the case that [578]
disputes now sometimes arise, as in 1942 at Qafanta and Mirad
Mas'ud, between members of a family about which of its members
should succeed to the directorship of a lodge and control
of its revenues.

This development is not surprising. Poor communications 795*
and the troubled times since 1911 have encouraged local autonomy 793
in the Sanusiya organization. The Shaikh of a lodge 428
brought up his family in it and his sons had no other home than
the lodge and no other friends than the Bedouin around it and
the families of Shaikhs in nearby lodges. Tribesmen dislike [178]
change and prefer to have for the Shaikhs of their lodges
members of families they know and who share their local
interests. But the tendency towards hereditary succession is 795*
also related to the fundamental lineage structure of the tribes 793
among whom the lodges are distributed, for it is noticeable that
whereas hereditary succession became customary in the Bedouin, 613 ●
or tribal, lodges, it has been by comparison lacking in the urban 428
lodges of Banghazi and Darna and in those oases where tribal [369]
structure has become obscured by village life. This would seem
to suggest that *Ikhwan* families tend the more easily to become
stabilized as lines of hereditary Shaikhs the more closely they
are associated with tribal structure. It is precisely in the most
powerful, numerous, and integrated tribal sections that we

*795 find hereditary transmission of Shaikhship of lodges most
793 accentuated, such as the Bara'asa-Tamia section (al-Zawiya
• 613 al-Baida), the 'Awaqir-Sdaidi section (Msus zawiya), and the
428 'Abaidat-Ghaith section (Tart zawiya). In the same way the
[792] earlier Marabouts became, as has been noted, founders of
lineages which were on the pattern of the branches of the
Bedouin clans among whom they lived, and attached to them.

*795 Also it must be remembered that the lodges were tribal
institutions built by the local Bedouin so that they might
778 participate in the *baraka* of Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Ali al-
793 Sanusi. They participated in it through the Shaikhs of their
619 zawiyas who received their *baraka* direct from the hands of the
182 Grand Sanusi himself, or from the hands of son Sayyid al-Mahdi, and passed it on to their sons. This *baraka* belonged to the tribe, or tribal section, which built a lodge just as the *shaukha*, the secular Shaikhship of the tribe, or tribal section, belonged to it and had to be kept in it. In both the continuity of family succession had to be maintained, unless there were good reasons for acting otherwise. Thus each tribal section emphasized its autonomy in its hereditary line of religious Shaikhs, through whom the *baraka* of the founder of the Order was transmitted to them, whilst proclaiming its membership of a tribal federation with common allegiance to the Head of the Order.

*795 As I have pointed out when speaking of the sacred *Marabtin*
793 tribes of Cyrenaica, it was customary for the descendants of a
778 Marabout to reside near his tomb. I have further mentioned
that the Shaikh of a Sanusiya lodge, who is also called a *Mara-*
[776] *bat* by the Bedouin, might, if he had during life a reputation for piety, rather easily gained in Islam, be venerated as a saint when he was dead and his tomb become a shrine. This is another reason why Shaikhly families have tended to become hereditary directors of lodges.

*795 Just as almost all the Marabouts of Cyrenaica were foreigners
793 from the west, so were almost all the Shaikhs of the Sanusiya
554 lodges. The Dardafi and Isma'ili families came from Tripoli-
tania, the Ghumari family from Morocco, the 'Ammur, Bu
[167] Jibali, and Khattab families came from Algeria, and so on. As a class they enjoyed, and still enjoy, a reputation for sanctity among the Bedouin on account of their knowledge of the Koran

account of the Italian invasion of Tripolitania. Realizing that 175*
they were helpless without Sanusiya support not only in the 648*
Sahara but also in Libya, since they would not be able without 795*
command of the sea to reinforce their garrisons there, the Turks showed themselves anxious to win over Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif by also conferring on him new privileges. In 1910 the Governor of Banghazi proposed to make him a monthly grant of 4,000 Piastres, and the Governor of Tripoli sent a telegram in cipher to his representatives in various parts of Tripolitania asking them whether they thought the Sanusiya Order powerful enough to warrant additional privileges, which was apparently the view of Istanbul. His representatives, judging by its lesser influence in Tripolitania, where it never gained the unanimous support it received in Cyrenaica, reported that in their opinion the political importance of the Order had been exaggerated.[1]

Such of these events as were known to Italian observers
shortly before and in the early stages of their war with Turkey 175*
led them to false conclusions because the complexity of Arab 648*
sentiments was not appreciated. The structure of Bedouin 181
society is such that whatever the size of the group a man con- 186
siders himself to belong to in any situation, he is in virtue of his 619
loyalty to it opposed to other groups of like order in the tribal
structure. He is loyal to his *bait* against other *biyut*, to his *'aila* [613] ●
against other *'ailat*, and to his *qabila* against other *qabail*.
Nevertheless, he has a strong feeling of communion with all the Bedouin of his country, regardless of their tribal affiliations, in common opposition to the towns. But Bedouin and citizen are both Arab and they made common cause against the Turks, especially when the activities of the 'Young Turks' forced Turk and Arab into rival camps. But even Arab and Turk shared wider loyalties in their regard—unequal, it is true, but still shared—for the Sultanate and for Islam and they reacted in spontaneous accord against threats from Christian Powers, the French advance in the Sahara and the Italian invasion of Libya. Against Christians and Europeans Arabs and Turks were no longer Arabs and Turks but Muslims, just as against the Turks Bedouin and citizens were no longer Bedouin and citizens but Arabs, and against the towns tribesmen were no longer members of different tribes but a Bedouin community.

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[1] Macaluso, op. cit., pp. 88–90, and Serra, op. cit., p. 37.

EMRYS PETERS

18. *The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica* [*Libya*][1]

121 128 In this article I do not propose to discuss the genealogies of the Cyrenaican Bedouin in full, but only such aspects of them as are strictly relevant to an understanding of their process of growth. Many other aspects of these genealogies will be referred to, and indeed, some of the arguments put forward will presume an acceptance of views which cannot be developed adequately in this article. A fuller and more general account of Cyrenaican genealogies is in preparation, and, until this is published, there is no alternative to the somewhat dogmatic statements about them which appear in the introductory part of this article.

174 613 551 562 [173] The Bedouin of Cyrenaica claim that they are all descendants of a unique ancestress, Sa'ada. Writers in the past (e.g. Robertson-Smith 1903) have considered the occurrence of female names in patrilineal genealogies as evidence of an earlier and matrilineal mode of descent. A more satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of female names is to be found in the combination of two facts: descent in the patriline, whether or

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128 Reprinted by permission of the author and the Council from the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 90, pp. 29–53, 1960.

122 121 128 128 [1] My field work among the Cyrenaican Bedouin was made possible by an award from the Emslie Horniman Fund and a later award from the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Oriental Languages and Cultures. I wish here to express my indebtedness to both committees for their generosity. Much of the work I have done on genealogies was included in a thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University in 1951. The ideas included in this thesis I developed more systematically in a course of lectures on the Bedouin which I gave at Manchester University during the session 1953–54. I subsequently read papers around the problems discussed in this paper at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. I am grateful to Professor Gluckman for reading this article in manuscript, and for the numerous discussions I have had with him on problems relating to lineage organization.

174 not male names are used, is assumed; and secondly that the
613 Bedouin are polygamous. If, then, half-brother differentiation
551 or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious
562 way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the
genealogy. Thus, in the Cyrenaican genealogy, a number of
tribal groups will be shown as sons of a particular father. If dif-
182 ferentiation of these groups needs to be shown, this can be ef-
613 fected by clustering the groups round, say, two female names
551 (the names of the respective mothers) thereby making the two
562 clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half
brothers. The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level.

173 The founding ancestress Sa'ada is credited with two sons, who
613 in turn are considered to be the founding ancestors of the two
largest groups of tribes in Cyrenaica. Each of these sons is said
619 to have begottten two sons, as shown on the accompanying
genealogy. The next generation shows a total of nine names, and these nine ancestors are considered to be the founding ancestors of the nine noble tribes of Cyrenaica.[2] Continuing the line of descent of one of these tribes—the Magharba—the same pattern of segmentation repeats itself: the tribe is divided into two primary sections having ar-Ra'aid and ash-Shamakh as the respective founding ancestors. Ash-Shamakh is said to have had four sons, and these are the founding ancestors of four secondary sections. These latter four are credited with a varying number of sons, as shown in the genealogy (Fig. 18-1).

One feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy immediately stands out from this brief description: the uniformity in the number of segments at the various levels of segmentation. Along the line of descent from Sa'ada to Nasr, the number of sons shown in the

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[162] [2] One of these, the 'Ailat Fayid, now only numbers about 150 souls, and although it is given the structural position of a tribe in the genealogy, it scarcely merits this distinction in practice.

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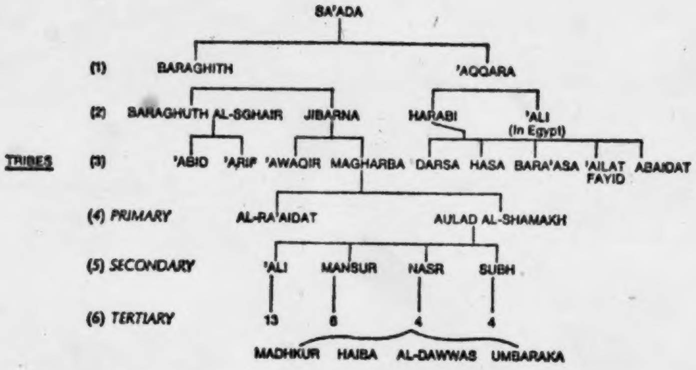
SA'ADA
(1)
BARAGHITH
'AQQARA
(2)
BARAGHUTH AL-SGHAIR
JIBARNA
HARABI
'ALI
(In Egypt)
TRIBES
(3)
'ABID
'ARIF
'AWAQIR
MAGHARBA
DARSA
HASA
BARA'ASA
'AILAT FAYID
ABAIDAT
(4) PRIMARY
AL-RA'AIDAT
AULAD AL-SHAMAKH
(5) SECONDARY
'ALI
MANSUR
NASR
SUBH
(6) TERTIARY
13
6
4
4
MADHKUR
HAIBA
AL-DAWWAS
UMBARAKA

FIG. 18-1 GENEALOGY 1. The names given in this genealogy are the tribal names in use. All are derivatives of personal names of ancestors, like all tribal names, except for some nicknames (e.g. Baraghith means 'the fleas') and a few which refer to a general location (e.g. the Magharba means the 'Westerners'). [551]

first four descending generations is two. At the fifth level the 173
number increases to four and finally, at the sixth level there 613
characteristically occurs a marked irregularity in the number of 619
descendants forming the founding ancestors of the tertiary sections.

Another feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that its 613
branches show an intimate relationship with ecological areas. 619
Thus, the major division into two branches stemming from 13
Sa'ada represents the eastern and western halves of the country 182
with associated and clear differences in ecology. Continuing the line of descent, the Jibarna and Baraghith groups of tribes occupy plain and mountain foot-hills respectively. The two Jibarna tribes in turn occupy two distinct kinds of plain. Following now the division of the Magharba tribe, its two primary sections are divided by a very conspicuous dry valley. The four secondary divisions of the Aulad ash-Shamakh primary section likewise show a relation to ecological boundaries, albeit on a smaller scale than those previously referred to, but none the less important in this more local context. Finally, the unevenly numbered tertiary sections which are derived from these four

613 619 13 182 secondary sections, in their very unevenness, show a more sensitive relation to more detailed ecological differences.

At all levels of segmentation, therefore, a high degree of consistency between the ecological divisions of the country and the genealogical divisions can be shown. Indeed the relationship is so close that it is tempting to consider the contemporary pattern of things as the only one possible. What historical evidence [167] exists is against such a view being taken. It is known that tribes have been displaced in the past, some of them or sections of them having been pushed out into Egypt, and others having altered their position. This being so, there obviously cannot be any finality about the present distribution of tribes in relation to the ecological divisions of the country. Rather, the existing pattern is one of a number of possible permutations. Again, as the relation between groups of people to their environment becomes progressively sensitive with the decrease in the size and order of the group, then the more unstable will be the relationship between the two. Conversely the greater the size and order of the group the more persistent will be its relationship to the ecology. In other words, the major ecological divisions are more fundamental in their effect on the way of life and the economy of people, whereas the more detailed ecological differences between, say, tertiary sections have a relatively minor effect. The [233] [433] ecological differences between the wooded plateau area with its cow and goat herding economy, and the arid semi-desert area with its camel and sheep herding economy has a much more profound effect on the general way of life, and is a more persistent division, than that which exists between two tertiary sections where the differences may only be in topographical details.

While therefore, the division of people into groups of various sorts is not permanently fixed in relation to ecological divisions, there is always an intimate relationship between the two which is progressively more enduring as the order of the structural segment increases. Yet even this statement of the relationship, guarded as it is, does not suffice, for the pattern and distribution of tribes and their sections at any given moment are not only a function of ecology, but they are also the result of a number of other complex factors which may be operating to reinforce or to

613

complicate the more direct relationship of the distribution of groups of people to the ecology.[3] 619 [13] [182]

The Cyrenaican genealogy, then, is a conceptualization of a hierarchy[4] of ordered territorial segments. The groups stemming from the ancestor at the third order of segmentation are referred to as tribes, and each tribe is the apex of a three-tiered order of segments, which, following customary practice, are referred to as primary, secondary, and tertiary. The latter, the tertiary segment, 621 represents the group of people who, for a period of six to eight 613 months, gather together and live in what, for all intents and purposes, is a single discrete residential group.[5] This tertiary group is also the smallest political group. It has its own homeland, with its [423] water supplies, pastures, and ploughland. In this homeland live most of its members. It is a lineage segment, and most of the agnates of this segment live on their own homeland.[6] It is also the [682] vengeance group, which means that any one of its members can [628] be killed in vengeance for a homicide committed by any other, and that the obligation to exact vengeance falls on all members alike, regardless of relationship to the victim. Likewise, its members pay blood money as a group, and although when they receive it, a bigger portion goes to the nearest agnate of the victim, the remainder is distributed equally among all its members. The number of generations which supervene between the founding ancestor of a tertiary segment and the living is usually four or five, but there is little consistency in this number. Some tertiary

[3] This part of the discussion is necessarily brief, but further amplification will appear in two subsequent articles now in preparation, one of which is concerned with a general treatment of Cyrenaican genealogies, and the other with a discussion of the effects of ecology on the social organization of the Bedouin. [114]

[4] I use the word hierarchy here since, although segments of any order display many like features, the orders represent distinct and progressively more embracing interests, and these differences are of such consequence that to consider one order of groups as a facsimile of a superior or inferior order can only lead to confusion. A tertiary group, that is to say, may possess many of the characteristics of a secondary group, but the one is a fundamentally different sort of group from the other, as I shall show in my forthcoming article on the feud. (cf. Smith, M. G. 1956.) [128]

[5] This statement does not apply to the Darsa and the Hasa tribes, two of the plateau tribes in Cyrenaica. The statements in this article are confined almost exclusively to the camel herders of the semi-desert. [619] [128]

[6] This, admittedly, is too general a statement to make about such an important issue, but I would prefer to leave its documentation and precision for an article on the analysis of the composition of Bedouin camps.

613 segments show a lineage depth of three generations, while others
621 show as many as six. No special importance is attached by the
Bedouin to this number, although some writers claim that a depth
of five generations is of particular significance among other Arab
621 tribes.[7] Normally, in speaking of the vengeance group, the Bedouin
628 refer to the name of the ancestor of a tertiary tribal section.
613 Any one claiming membership of this group, regardless of his
682 precise generational relation to the offender or the victim is immediately
and equally involved with its other members. When
speaking of the group as such, the Bedouin refer to it as 'those
who have agreed on the blood', and use the phrase *'amara dam*
to refer to it. Blood money does not pass between its members,
and political division does not occur within it.

621 These small tertiary sections of tribes, then, are small residential
613 groups. Their population varies from one group to another,
[162] but most of them have a total population of 150 to 200 souls.
Successive generations—at least according to the Bedouin view
—add to these numbers, and also increase progressively the
number of generations in their genealogies. Substantial increases
of population would, of course, constitute a pressure on local
resources, on the water available in the particular well of a
group, on the amount of land available for ploughing, and on
the pastures for animals at the end of the rainy season. Again,
if each generation is to be added to the existing genealogy, this
would necessitate a realignment of structural relationships with
each succeeding generation. The discussion that follows is an
128 examination of the ways in which adjustments are made to
621 maintain an equilibrium between the population of a group and
613 the carrying capacity of the land on which its members live, and
of the ways in which the genealogical structure is able to persist
in the face of various contingencies which threaten it.

A beginning might be made by indicating the processes at work to keep the form of the genealogy fairly fixed when there is an absence of population pressure on resources. The first problem is the simple one of describing the mechanics of manipula-

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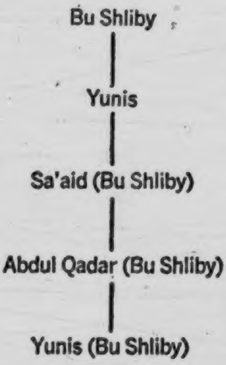
[171] [7] e.g. Burkhardt (1831), speaks of the *Khomse*, the five generation group, as very widespread among Arabs. G. W. Murray also reports the use of the word *Khomsa* among the Arabs of the Sinai desert to designate the blood-vengeance group, but the term used by the Aulad 'Ali tribe, the cousins and Egyptian neighbours of the Cyrenaican Bedouin, he gives as *Awlia'-ed-dam* (which simply means 'blood kindred').

621

tion which enable the genealogy to remain constant in length 613
and fixed in form despite its dynamic content. 128

One of the main processes at work in foreshortening genealogies is that referred to by Evans-Pritchard as telescoping.[8] 173 178
This process is also a characteristic feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy, although its effects, to be discussed presently, differ conspicuously. 613 551 The way in which telescoping works in the Cyrenaican genealogy is that several male names come to be omitted in the genealogy below the name of the founding ancestor of the tertiary group. Usually, the form in which this occurs it that the name of a famous tribesman, and particularly his nickname if he has one, is retained along with the personal names of his lineal descendants in successive generations. The example given below is taken from the genealogy of the Haiba tertiary section of the Magharba tribe:



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[8] 'It is evident, moreover, that since the minimal lineage consists of four or five actual steps in ascent, there has been telescoping of the agnatic line from the founder of the minimal lineage further up the line of ascent to the founder of the clan, for the founder of the minimal lineage was himself the extremity of another minimal lineage which has, by increase in generations, become the minor lineage, and so on' (Fortes & Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 199). Since Evans-Pritchard first wrote on the telescoping of genealogies among the Nuer, other anthropologists have discussed the process in various systems. (171) Fortes, Richards, Laura Bohannan, Cunnison, and Mitchell in their writings on the Tallensi, Bemba, the Tiv, the Luapula people, and the Yao respectively are notable examples . . . As the mode of manipulation of Bedouin genealogies is marginal to my present problem, the main comparison is not with these works but with Evans-Pritchard's earlier work on the Nuer, because the Bedouin and Nuer lineage system have more in common than either have with the other systems, excepting possibly the Tiv.

173 The line shows five male names in all. The eldest surviving mem-
178 bers of this line is Sa'aid, who almost invariably is referred to,
613 not by his personal name, but as Bu Shliby,[9] and on the infre-
551 quent occasions when his personal name is used it is followed by Bu Shliby and not by his father's name, which is the more common practice. Again, Abdul Qadar, when his father is not about, is called Bu Shliby, and when it is necessary to give him his personal name Bu Shliby is added, except among his more intimate family kindred, when only his personal name would be used. Likewise, his son Yunis carries Bu Shliby in addition to his personal name and is sometimes even referred to as Bu Shliby only. Abdul Qadar had never known his grandfather, was aware however of his existence in the past, but did not feel it necessary to use his name, and whatever obligation he might have felt to keep the memory of his grandfather alive, he fulfilled it when he named his son after him. Many of the older members of the group are also aware of the lineal connexions between Bu Shliby and Yunis, even though they use this knowledge in a genealogical context only, but many of the younger men of the group do not know these details. It is clear that when the boy Yunis grows to old age, three names in this line will have ceased to be used.

This practice of adding to a personal name the name of a deceased ancestor making one the son of the other, is pushed to the extent of carrying forward through the generations a nickname which referred to some peculiar characteristic of the ancestor, but which has little relation to the present bearer. Thus the ancestor whose name has been retained might have been nicknamed 'The Lame One' or 'The Squint-Eyed One' because he suffered either of these personal defects; or he might have been nicknamed 'The Old One' because he lived to a ripe old age. Such nicknames might later be carried by men who are not lame, nor squint-eyed, nor old, while the names of the intervening ancestors are dropped in normal use.

Another process is at work, which needs to be distinguished from telescoping, for although the results in genealogical terms are similar, Bedouin view it in quite a different light. This is the
[553] process of fusing names. It is common practice among the Bed-

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[193] [9] The prefix *Bu* is used by the Bedouin to mean 'son of.'

ouin—and, for that matter, Arabs in other lands—to name a boy 173
after a deceased relative. Rarely is a boy named after his father, 178
unless the father's death occurs before the boy is born, in which 613
circumstance, the new-born boy would certainly take his father's 551
name. A much more common form of this practice is to name a [553]
boy after his grandfather, assuming the latter to be dead. The eldest son usually accepts this responsibility, but it by no means falls invariably to him. There is a number of reasons for this, but they need not concern us here, since they are of no relevance to the general argument. What is of concern at present is that one name in the genealogy might represent the fusion of several other similar names. When circumstances permit, an individual's line might run as follows: Muhammad—'Ali—Muhammad—'Ali—Muhammad. It is true that the man himself and those closely related to him might know full well that there are three men named Muhammad and two named 'Ali, but it would not be considered irregular if only one Muhammad and one 'Ali were given in the genealogy. A mature man, giving his genealogy, omitted his father's name, Ibrahim. When asked about the omission, he insisted that he had given it, and when he was told that the name Ibrahim given by him was intended to refer to his young son, he impatiently dismissed the matter with the observation that having given the name Ibrahim once, it mattered little whether it had been put in the position of his son or father. Pointing to his son he added, 'There is my father, Ibrahim. He has taken my father's position, has he not?'

By the fusion of names, several persons drop out of the genealogy, and by and by, the line comes to be shortened. It also has the effect of giving a person's name a weighting which otherwise it would not possess. In a sense, a young son named after a father is not merely a son but a father and possibly a great-grandfather also. The young boy becomes the contemporary carrier of the personalities of those of similar name who have preceded him, while the behaviour of the living towards him is, in virtue of this, affected in a number of details. A man who had named his son in this way, explained the matter thus: 'He is my son, but also my father because he has his name. I cannot beat him for it would be like beating my father. When he grows up and I grow old, he will look after me as if I were his son.'

173 Fusion of names appears in another context and for similar
178 reasons. Not only are lineal descendants given the name of de-
551 ceased ancestors, but a man may be given the name of any de-
613 ceased agnate of his tertiary section. Usually, this is only done
428 when a man passes on property to another who is not his direct
[553] heir. Commonly, this occurs when an agnate is also a mother's
brother, as often happens as a result of parallel cousin marriage,
and this mother's brother has no sons of his own. If he has a
sister's son, who is also his paternal nephew, he is likely to pass
[183] on his wealth to this nephew. A father, the Bedouin insist, ought
to perform three duties for his sons: attend to their circumcision,
[593] and their education in the Koran, and provide bride-wealth when
[852] they marry. All fathers attend to the circumcision of all their sons;
[871] few provide for the Koranic education of any of their sons; most
bear the burden of marrying off at least one of their sons. The
[583] performance of the latter duty is what makes the continuance of the deceased's name an obligation, and whoever performs this duty must have his name perpetuated in one male offspring of the union which was brought about with his wealth. Wealth need not take the form of bride-wealth; it can be a legacy willed by a father, maternal uncle of the kind described above, or any other agnate who has died without male issue. Conversely, if a man dies without leaving any property, even his sons might not perpetuate his name, and eventually it will drop out of the genealogy.[10] There are instances of men inheriting the wealth of a number of agnates, using each parcel of wealth to make a new marriage and naming the sons of the various unions after the several dead who had left wealth. The example given below is taken from the genealogy of the Dawwas section of the Magharba tribe. What happened here was that the two lines stemming from Faraj and Sha'aban, after proliferating normally, became extinct. As this happened, Ibrahim, the son of Miftah, began to inherit wealth to which he was not a direct heir; and

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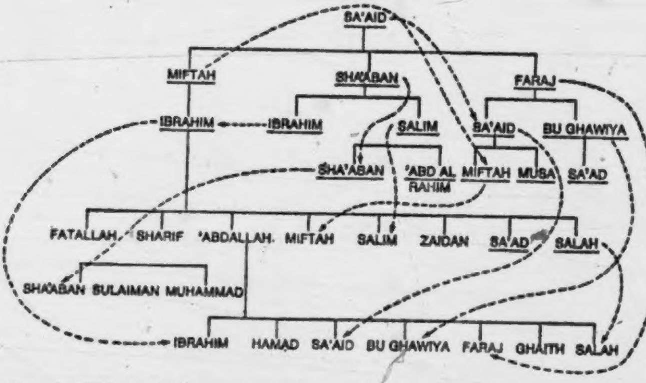
[588] [10] To avoid confusion, it ought to be made clear that this is not ghost marriage. As I understand ghost marriages from Evans-Pritchard's (1951) account, two main conditions must be satisfied: (i) that there should be inherited wealth to make a marriage, and (ii) that the wealth remaining after the ghost marriage has been made is inherited by the ghost children only. In Cyrenaica, wealth thus inherited becomes part of a man's total wealth and is not reserved for a ghost marriage and its issue.

as he did so, he entered into a plurality of marriages, begat sons, 173
and replaced those men in the genealogy who had died without 178
heirs. In the following generation the twin process of death and 551
replacement continued. Death removed all the male descendants 613
of Sha'aban and Faraj, and of Ibrahim Bu Miftah's many sons 428
only two, Sharif and Abdallah, were of age to marry at the time of my visits to their camp. Both had enjoyed a plurality of wives, although still young to have done so, and each marriage they contracted took place after the death of one of their kinsmen. The full and intricate details of this interesting genealogy are irrelevant here, since all the example is intended to show is how nine of eleven male names were perpetuated in the genealogy by repeating five of them twice and four of them three times, accounting in all for twenty-two names; and to do this, three men (one of them had died, but the other two were both under forty years of age) married eight wives. All the names in the two lines which have died out have not yet been brought back into the genealogy, but 'Abdallah, the son of Ibrahim, who had already done extremely well in this respect, was confident that soon the obligations towards Musa, Abd al-Rahim, and Sa'ad would be redeemed.

Thus the fusion of names not only ensures that names threatened with extinction are perpetuated, but that one person, in the name he bears, can carry the genealogical burden of several other men of that name.

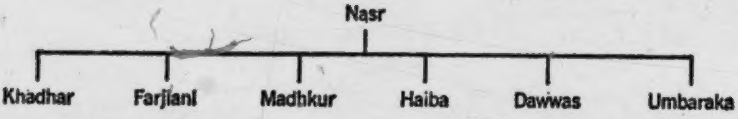

SA'AID
MIFTAH
SHA'ABAN
FARAJ
IBRAHIM
IBRAHIM
SALIM
SA'AID
BU GHAWIYA
SHA'ABAN
'ABD AL RAHIM
MIFTAH
MUSA
SA'AD
FATALLAH
SHARIF
'ABDALLAH
MIFTAH
SALIM
ZAIDAN
SA'AD
SALAH
SHA'ABAN
SULAIMAN
MUHAMMAD
IBRAHIM
HAMAD
SA'AID
BU GHAWIYA
FARAJ
GHAITH
SALAH

[601]

FIG. 18-2 GENEALOGY 2. The names of dead men are underlined.

173 Telescoping of names, and fusion of names, taken together,
178 can account for the fixity of the genealogy to a large extent. In
551 addition, lines which showed every sign of normal development
613 at one time, have petered out completely, even after they have
sometimes assumed the status of tertiary segments. Conditions
173 under which this is likely to happen are not difficult to envisage.
178 If hearsay evidence is correct, disease, when it strikes in the
551 desert, might rage in a camp like wild fire, bringing death to
613 many, but not spreading to other camps, because the camps are
731 so far apart. Even in springtime when men and beasts are to-
361 gether in the pastures, and the larger summer camp has split into
four or five smaller ones, the distance between camps may still be
[221] a few miles. In summer, when camps are concentrated on the
large watering points, the distances between them are considera-
bly more. Disease, therefore, does not spread from camp to camp
as rapidly as one might expect in such primitive conditions of
living. In 1949 a number of men of a small camp died within a
[761] few days of each other. Bedouin opinion attributed these deaths
to an allegedly false oath sworn by the deceased a year earlier.
[784] Medical opinion ascribed them to filth in a well which the de-
ceased had been cleaning before their illness. In any event, a
thriving line of a lineage was wiped off the genealogy. The por-
173 tion of the Dawwas genealogy shown on this page shows a
178 similar process at work. Again, to give another example, the Nasr
613 section of the Magharba tribe once included six tertiary sections,
not four as are now given. Two of these six sections are now represented by only four men of whom two are too old and decrepit to have heirs any longer, and are unmarried in any case; a third, whose wife has long passed child-bearing age, had two sons, but both died before marriage; and the fourth, a very poor and old man, has only one daughter, and is a widower. Three of the four now live with their collateral tribal section, Madhkur, and count themselves members of this group. That they once belonged to two different groups might have passed unnoticed were it not that two elders of the Madhkur section insisted that they should be correctly placed and their entire genealogies be recorded. The younger men argued that although they were aware that the two groups named Farjiani and al-Khadhar at one time

existed, it was pointless giving them separate status any longer; 173
they were content to give the three men separate lines of a few 178
613



generations, and then to tag them on to Madhkur, the founding ancestor of the segment.

Telescoping, fusion of names, and the extinction of lines are three ways in which the general fixed shape of the genealogy is retained. These three processes are only sufficient, however, in special circumstances, but before discussing these circumstances one further general condition relating to these processes must be
made explicit. All three affect the genealogy within the tertiary 173
segments only, and do not affect it at any of the more superior 178
orders of segmentation. There is not a shred of evidence from 613
contemporary Cyrenaican genealogies to show that telescoping or 621
fusion occurs except within the tertiary segment, within that group, in other words, where precise genealogical links are known and can be specified, and within that small group which for most part of the year constitutes a single settlement. It is possible that groups of structurally superior levels to the tertiary have become extinct, in the way that tertiary lines have petered out. There is no definite evidence to support this, and from the analysis of Cyrenaican genealogies in general it seems that when any group is threatened with extinction—and this in turn means that fewer and fewer people will be using the same land and water facilities—there is a definite tendency for the lineage rump to fuse with a collateral lineage (and in so doing fuse their resources with those of the adopting lineage), or for a numerically more powerful lineage group to take it over by force. The number of tertiary segments spanned by a secondary segment, therefore, increases or decreases according to the circumstances; so that a secondary segment, numerically strong in its tertiary segments to-day, may become considerably weaker in future, and the numerically weak secondary section of to-day may proliferate its segments substantially in the future. Short of a significant de-

173 cline in the total population of a tribe, then, the extinction of
178 lines does not affect any order of segmentation superior to the
613 tertiary. In this respect, the Cyrenaican genealogy differs fundamentally
621 from those collected from the Nuer by Evans-Pritchard.
In the quotation from his work on Nuer genealogies (1951), he
[171] asserts that telescoping occurs 'from the founder of the minimal
lineage further up the line of ascent to the founder of the clan'.
This major difference has serious implications for any discussion
of lineage proliferation, but these must be left until the conditions
under which proliferation is likely to occur have been analysed.

178 While it is true that the processes discussed are of importance
in retaining the general shape of the genealogy, what is assumed
613 so far is that the Cyrenaican population has been stable over long
621 periods. Stability of population is not an unreasonable assumption
161 to make for a people who live on the margin of subsistence
182 in a country where extended periods of drought are not infrequent,
[173] though seldom leading, it is true, to actual famine conditions,
[731] but producing periodic and local food and water shortages.
Disease, following quickly in the trail of shortage, it can be assumed,
kept the relationship of total population to the natural
resources fairly constant. What evidence there is does not support
[726] even this very general assumption, since it is known that there
have been large-scale tribal wars in the past, and a certain
[167] amount of movement of tribes, some being displaced and others
pushed eastwards into Egypt. Unless these shifts were caused by increases in the aggregate population and the consequent pressure on land and water, it is difficult to account for them. This consideration of possible overall increases in population in the past poses interesting problems related to lineage structure which cannot be adequately treated here. For the moment it is proposed to neglect possible increases in the total population during past periods in the history of Cyrenaica. The historical depth of the view now to be discussed is about seventy years, and for this period I have no evidence of any large-scale increases in population. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume a general stability of
[132] population for this period. But the vagaries of the Cyrenaican
climate are such that, in a given year, one area might be well
drenched with rain, giving excellent pastures for animals and
good crops, while a nearby territorial strip might suffer a partial

drought giving insufficient pastures and poor crops. Good or bad 178 613
crops, poor or abundant pasture, in turn mean a higher or lower 621
milk yield from the animals and better or worse living conditions 161
for human beings. Such factors as these may well, over a number 182
of years, lead to unevenness in the distribution of population [132]
throughout the tertiary sections. Whatever the cause, the
genealogies show that the population of the numerous tertiary [173]
sections is unequal. Some are numerically so weak that they have to join a collateral section. Others are numerically so strong that their natural resources are insufficient to meet the needs of all their members. It was these latter segments which were in the process of splitting, and which in some cases have already done
so. The next task, then, is to demonstrate where, on the [128]
genealogy, proliferation is effected.

We have seen that in Nuer genealogies segments proliferate at 173
all orders of segmentation. Here, the process is a continuous one, 177
beginning at any point in time within the minimal lineage and 613
progressing upwards to the apex of lineage bifurcation. As 551
particular names become significant within the minimal segment, they are retained and become a permanent addition to the genealogy. In order to include these successively additional names, names of ascending ancestors are shunted further and further into the genealogical past, until presumably the effect is felt at the topmost limit of the genealogy, when the names here are pushed out of the genealogical framework altogether, and forgotten for ever. More than this, the upward shift in names at each and every point in the genealogical line means also a consequent re-ordering of structural relationships, at all levels in the
system. One vital difference between Nuer and Bedouin societies 173
which may partly, at least, account for the different genealogical 178
processes at work among them is that the Nuer, when they were 613
studied by Evans-Pritchard, were expanding territorially, and [171]
that continuous proliferation of segments throughout the
structure was the mode of dealing with a situation of expansion. The [648]
Bedouin, on the other hand, had suffered twenty years of terrible privation at the hands of the Italians, during which period thousands of them died in battle and in concentration camps, were shot up in their camps from the air, or died from want, before I went to live among them. Although I must confess that I now

173 Although I must confess that I now find it difficult to accept Evans-Pritchard's view of genealogical
178 growth and development as stated for the Nuer, it was the view
613 I originally held with regard to Bedouin genealogies. Indeed,
551 thinking in genealogical terms only, it appears inevitable that the
114 addition of successive generations can only mean the lengthening of the genealogy, or, if the length is to remain constant, extrusion of ancestral names must take place at the apex of the genealogy. If this view is to be accepted, several other conclusions must be accepted with it. The genealogy, as far as it goes at least, is an accurate record of descent—some names may have been lopped off at the top, but otherwise the genealogy represents a faithful statement of succession. Again, if successive generations are to be added to the genealogy, then its base must continually expand laterally. From what is known of contemporary Bedouin genealogies, there is no evidence which leads to the supposition that their base is progressively widening. With regard to the authenticity of the names in the genealogy, above the point of tertiary segmentation, I hope to show in a subsequent article on Bedouin genealogies in general, that names above the tertiary point of segmentation have remained fixed for very long periods of time, and that they bear slight relation to the passage of generations over the last century at least; moreover, in this article I hope to demonstrate that what manipulation of the genealogy takes place does not affect more than about four or five ascending generations from the living.

121 Part of the difficulty in a study of this sort lies in the strong
173 temptation to think of the genealogy *per se*, even though it is
613 readily admitted that it has a value in itself for the Bedouin. Yet even in these terms the genealogy must always represent an ordered grouping of people, and these people live on strips of territory. The starting point of the analysis then ought to begin with the territorial ordering of groups of people. The relation of groups of people to land, moreover, is determined by the carrying capacity of that land, and it is this prerequisite which is the main variable in discussing genealogical manipulation, and not the
[182] other way about. The main landmarks of the Cyrenaican ecology are fixed points which cannot be manipulated to fit in with the genealogy; it is the genealogy which must be altered to comprehend the distribution of people in their ecological setting.

121 173 613 619 178 If, moreover, the view of a genealogy as a continually expanding line of descent is to be accepted, it must be accepted also that large structural units, even in conditions of population stability, are to experience a continuous re-ordering of their structural relationships. In practice, what this means is that a tribe of, say 20,000 souls cease to be tribesmen of a named tribe and instead all become members of an almost identical group but with a different name. To take an example from the genealogy given [162] on page 365: the Magharba tribe shown there has a total population of some 13,000 souls. If proliferation affected the topmost limits of this tribe, the apical name disappears and presumably the name of one of the primary sections is to be substituted. That is, half the tribe would have to take on the lineage name of their opposed primary section. The only alternative to the use of the name of a primary segment as a substitute for the abandoned tribal name is the acceptance by 13,000 people of a totally new name, which is most unlikely.

It is reasonable to assume therefore, that the genealogy, in its general form, is fixed for long periods of time at least. This still leaves the problem of how and where adjustments are made to face the contingencies of birth and death, of the succession of generations, and of the irregular increases and decreases of population among the tertiary segments. An important clue lies in the number of segments which appear at the various orders of segmentation. From Sa'ada, the founding ancestress, in the line which runs to Nasr, each ancestor is shown as having a pair of sons for four orders of segmentation. At the fifth generation from Sa'ada—this is now the secondary order of segmentation within the tribe—the number of sons increases to four. Not all tribes will show the same number of sons at each generation as the Magharba—some, for example, might show three instead of two at the primary order—but what is true of all tribes is that there is evident consistency in the number down to and including the fifth generation from Sa'ada; if, that is to say, one of a tribe's primary segments is divided into three secondary sections, the other one or two, as the case may be, will be divided likewise. Throughout the tribes in Cyrenaica, then, segmentation of orders superior to the tertiary segments shows a pronounced consistency in their numbers.

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621 At the next level of segmentation (this now being the tertiary order in any given tribe) the number of segments which appear is conspicuously irregular. For the Magharba tribe, the four secondary segments, 'Ali, Mansur, Subh and Nasr are divided into thirteen, six, four, and four segments respectively. Similar irregularity appears in other tribes.[11] The pattern of the genealogy is always one of regularity in the number of segments at all points in it except for the point of tertiary segmentation where conspicuous irregularity becomes immediately evident. Since these
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621
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131 segments constitute the summer camps of the Bedouin, this is not surprising, for these small groups will show greater susceptibility to details of local water supplies, pasturing facilities, ploughland areas, and topographical features than would the numerically larger and structurally superior groups occupying larger areas of territories of greater ecological importance. If we follow the line from Sa'ada to Nasr again, the bifurcation at the first order of segmentation is consistent with the division of the country into the permanently green high altitudes of the plateau, and the extended low-lying plain area of the western half of the country.
[134] Between the territory of the Magharba tribe ('The White Plain') and that of its neighbour tribe, the 'Awaqir ('The Red Plain'), there is a major soil difference, which is such a conspicuous feature of the landscape, and so sharply defined, that one is almost aware when one has crossed the tribal boundary. Within the Magharba tribe, a prominent dry river valley cuts the territory in two, the landscape to the west of it being characteristically serrated, making travel in an east-west direction difficult, while to the east the landscape is much more docile and undulating. The four sections of the ash-Shamakh branch again represent four quite distinct areas. The territory of one section is almost conterminous with the narrow belt of sand dunes along the coast; the territory of another is a block of rough and tumbled land in the west; the territory of a third, in the centre, is made up of a few low-lying shallow valleys; and the territory of the fourth,

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[114] [11] It is necessary here to warn the reader that, brilliant an ethnographer as Agostini undoubtedly was, his grouping of tribal sections is not always correct. I had his book (Agostini 1922–23) with me in the field and checked his tribal survey. I found that at several important points his ordering of the segments was incorrect. I should add that the differences between Agostini and myself are not due to the kind of changes discussed in this article.

stretching across to the village of Ajadabiya in the east, topples 613
in undulations away into the flat expanses of the desert to the 619
south. At all these points of segmentation, the territories occupied 621
by the various sections are large and roughly defined, and 133
the population aggregates supported on these territories run from 182
over a thousand at one end to tens of thousands at the upper 131
limits. The tertiary sections are numerically much smaller, some of them numbering as few as a hundred souls in all, and the territories to which they are attached are correspondingly smaller. The relationship between the numbers in this order of section, and the precise amount of water available in the local wells is an intimate one. If the population of one of these groups increases, or if the number of animals rises, or if the springs show a decline in the volume of water they give forth, or if the winter rainfall has allowed the storage in wells of only a small quantity of water, a rearrangement of the group must be effected. A significant alteration of any one of these components must mean that the local group must split to enable a new adjustment to be made in the relationship of man and animals to water.

Whatever changes occur within groups of any size, since the 173
genealogy embraces the entire population, these must appear on 178
the genealogy in some way or other. Now a genealogy is as rigid 829
a framework, as fixed and final a pattern of grouping, as can be 613
imagined. The impression that they are thus rigid and fixed, except 551
for the addition of successive generations, is strengthened by the way in which the Bedouin use them. From their young boys to their old men, the Bedouin are expert genealogists, and the names of ancestors, for one reason or another, are never far
from their lips. Names are kept alive by constant use, since all [571]
references to inter-group relationships must be in terms of these
names. More than this, the Bedouin were proud to the point of 173
boastfulness of their genealogical knowledge, and, wherever I 829
travelled, the first request I had to comply with was to take down 613
a large portion of a tribal genealogy. In recording their endless 551
genealogies, one feature about them came to assume increasing 123
interest; while there was remarkable unanimity with regard to 126
most of the names given, there was one point of marked ambiguity—at the tertiary level of segmentation. I recorded genealogies in four tribes on an extensive scale, and in each tribe

173 ambiguity surrounding the actual names and their correct posi-
829 tion occurred at about the fifth ascending generation. Whenever
• 613 this point was reached in the recordings, arguments would flare
551 up over the names to be included or excluded and over the rela-
123 tion of these names to those above and below, with the result
126 that for several people of the same segment there would be sev-
eral versions of a genealogy which differed only at this one point. An example of this sort is given below from the genealogy of the Nasr section, which shows seven different versions of the arrangement of ancestors round about the fifth ascending generation from the living.

173 The confusion at and around the fifth ascending generation
829 appeared with such regularity in the genealogies that I feel justi-
613 fied in referring to it as 'the area of ambiguity'. It seems likely,
551 moreover, that in any society where the lineage structure is
closely tied to the territorial disposition of groups, since the genealogy is so rigid, there needs to be in it somewhere an area of ambiguity if it is to be related to reality. Without this ambiguity, the form of the genealogy is too rigid to comprehend changes which occur. This point in the genealogy came to assume critical significance as the point where adjustments in it are made. Other kinds of evidence point to the same conclusion.

[601]

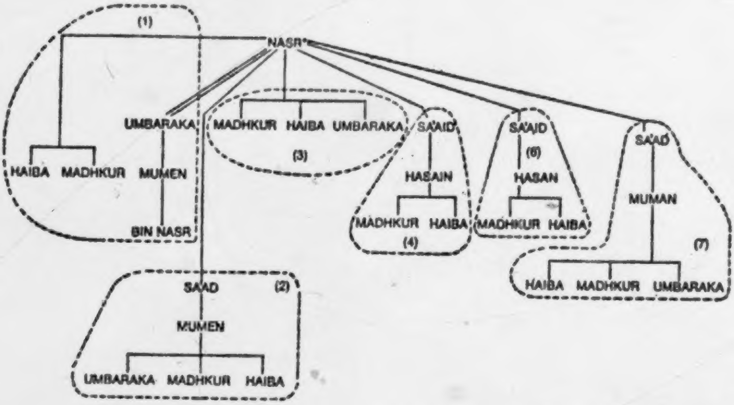
(1)
NASR*
UMBARAKA
MADHKUR
HAIBA
UMBARAKA
(3)
SA'AID
SA'AID
(6)
SA'AD
HAIBA
MADHKUR
MUMEN
HASAIN
HASAN
MUMAN
BIN NASR
MADHKUR
HAIBA
(4)
MADHKUR
HAIBA
(7)
HAIBA
MADHKUR
UMBARAKA
SA'AD
(2)
MUMEN
UMBARAKA
MADHKUR
HAIBA

FIG. 18-3 GENEALOGY 3. *There is another section, al-Dawwas, which belongs to this group, but to include this as well would greatly complicate the issue without giving any additional information.

The Proliferation of Segments

There are, in Cyrenaica, three major status groups among the 619
tribes: the noble or free-born tribesmen (*al-Hurr*), those who 554
have been adopted or grafted on to a tribe (the *Laff*), and the 608
clients (*Marabtin*).

Those who claim to be free-born also claim ownership of the 619
natural resources. The *Laff* do not own these. They are people 608
thought not to have originally been of the lineage of the tribe 621
with which they are resident. They are found sometimes in ones 613
and twos in the camps of the free-born, but sometimes constitut- [423]
ing tertiary groups themselves. Now when such people have re-
sided with their free-born hosts for several years and one of them 619
has married one of the host's daughters, they are grafted to the 608
genealogy at the point of tertiary segmentation, that is, where 613
ambiguity occurs in the genealogy. Obviously, persons thus 621
grafted to the lineage cannot be shown as descendants of one 173
of the living or of the recently dead, remembered perhaps by some of the elders still living. It is equally true to say that they cannot be grafted to the lineage at a point superior to that of the tertiary segments, since this would involve recognition by a number of tertiary groups whose members may know little or nothing about them. When a person enters a new tribe, the only way in which he can do so is to go to live in a camp, and it is the concern of the people of that particular camp whether or not they accept him, since it is they who have to decide whether their resources are sufficient to support a newcomer. Once a man has been accepted as a full member of a tertiary section, membership of superior tribal sections is automatic, although to enter into tribal membership he requires the permission of members of a tertiary section only. To graft at a point superior to the tertiary would be the same as giving a man superior structural status, but without a camp in which to dwell. There is only one place for his incorporation, and that is where the ambiguity in the genealogy permits manipulation to include new lines. In this way the
adoption of a person into a lineage does not offend the sense of [597]
kinship of the receiving group since the point of inclusion is an ancestor about whom little or nothing is known and whose authenticity is frequently doubted by some. What has been referred to as an area of ambiguity is, moreover, something of a jumble of names, and it is not a difficult matter, if a new line has to be

619 attached somewhere along the line, to attach it to one of these
608 names. Bedouin welcome, as members of their camps, practically
● 613 anyone who wishes to join, even, in the case of one group, an
621 Italian. The limit to this acceptance of members is, of course, the
173 number of people who can be supported by the local resources.
If people are being admitted freely to membership of a particular
[182] camp, this means that there is a local surplus of land and water,
so that the number of grafts being supported by any particular
section is a useful index of the extent to which the resources are
being used. Conversely, as sometimes happens when grafted elements
become numerous, or when the water supply, for various
reasons, dwindles, it may be necessary to detach a grafted group.
[578] Such action is always the occasion of a violent dispute, usually
over watering rights, and not infrequently fights break out.
Whether or not the grafted group wins, from then onwards it will
be forced to exist as an independent group, and a new tertiary
section will have been born. No matter which of the processes
involving grafts is considered—incorporation or detachment—
both are contained within the framework of the tertiary section,
without any effect on the rest of the structure.

619 The position of the clients, in the context of this discussion, is
not unlike that of the grafts. Briefly, clients are men who are considered
[423] to have originated from a country other than Cyrenaica,
and who for this reason cannot claim rights to land and water—
at least this is the theory, although in some circumstances they
are able to do so successfully. They are of various kinds, but they
are not included in the genealogies given by the free-born. Clients
are found grouped in two main ways. There are some large
groups which constitute tribes in the sense that they display a
genealogical and territorial organization like those of the free-born,
and are usually to be found flanking the main tribes of the
country on their borders. Some of these are powerful groups and
enjoy considerable independence of action, but whatever their
characteristics they none the less speak of themselves as 'for' or
619 tied to the noble tribe whose territory includes theirs. Further,
571 the sections of these client tribes have their special ties with
tertiary sections of the noble tribes, which are not merely ties of
621 sentiment, but which take the form of valuable mutual help in a
613 number of situations. A whole client tribe, in the sense that it is

occupying territory which cannot be said to belong to any particular 619
section of their noble patron tribe, is tied to the patron 571
tribe as such. Yet it is through the small tertiary segments that 621
these ties are made effective. In this sense, a client tribe is a combination 613 •
of small groups of people each group having specific
relationships with defined tertiary sections, and participating in
the tribe of their patrons through these relationships.

Secondly, clients are found distributed in small groups, sometimes 619
no more than one or two men, but often in clusters large 621
enough to compose a small camp. Practically all tertiary sections 613
of the noble tribes have some clients either living with them or
sharing their resources. While clients continue to reside with a 619
particular tertiary section, it is the members of the latter who are 621
responsible for them and vice versa. If, for example, one of the 613
clients commits a homicide, the gathering of blood-money is the 572
responsibility of the noble tertiary section to which he is attached, [682]
and vengeance can be exacted on any member of the
noble section. In other circumstances, when the offender is a
nobleman, then the clients of his group are the first to be approached
for blood-money. Tied in this way to a particular 619
tertiary section, they are not, however, compelled to reside with 621
its members permanently. On the contrary, they may be forced 182
to move. If, for example, there is a pressure on local water supplies, 166
the first to feel it are the clients. Annually, they supplicate 613
for the use of water, and if their patrons decide that there is insufficient to meet all needs, the request is refused, albeit reluctantly. Clients constitute a socially mobile group; they are the pawns in the annual readjustment of men to their resources. Whenever they move, they pass on to another tertiary section, which may be a collateral section of the one they have left or structurally far removed from it, but as soon as they leave one, their duties and obligations cease and are taken up anew with another structurally like group. It is because their attachment is to a tertiary section, and not to one of superior order, that they can be as socially mobile as they are, which in turn facilitates a more efficient adjustment to the ecological situation from year to year.

Small groups of clients move frequently, groups of adopted people less frequently, and groups composed of the free-born

619 change their structural position only rarely. The latter change
621 sometimes does, however, occur, and there is evidence to show
182 that it does. For example, Agostini (1922–23, p. 323) in his tribal
166 survey, records a section named Barsha as one of the groups stem-
613 ming from Nasr.[12] In the genealogies I was given, the name did
not appear, and even after some questioning, what information
was known about it was concealed. Some time later the name
[578] cropped up accidentally in conversation, and I was then told that
at one time it had been one of the Nasr groups, but that after a quarrel during a year of water shortage, the Barsha folk went to live with people with whom they had maternal connexions, and in whose territory there was ample water that year, and never returned. The group, a tertiary one, was detached from the tertiary point of segmentation in the genealogies, and tied on to a tertiary group of another tribe in its new homeland.

178 To summarize briefly the argument thus far, the mechanical
173 devices of telescoping, fusion of names, the ejection of those
619 names which cease to be of any social consequence, and the
621 elision of names at or around the fifth ascending generation,
taken together point to the importance of the tertiary order of
613 segmentation in discussing the problem of maintaining the form
of the genealogy constant in face of its natural tendency to alter; further, evidence of changes (adoption into a lineage, detachment from it, the inclusion and exclusion of clients) was presented, and this again led to the conclusion that the tertiary point of segmentation is critical in this respect. This being so, the man-
[128] ner in which change actually occurs, still remains to be shown,
and this is best done, perhaps, by discussing the mode of proliferation of tertiary segments. In order to do this adequately, it is necessary to say something briefly about certain features of Bedouin marriage.

582 Among the Bedouin there exists a preferential form of marriage
605 between a man and his father's brother's daughter. Parallel
cousin marriage of this sort carries with it the exclusive right of a man to this cousin. Without his consent no one else can marry her, and to attempt to do so would be to risk the marriage arrangements being nullified after negotiations had almost been

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[114] [12] Barsha's position is incorrectly given as a sub-group of Haiba; it should be shown as structurally equivalent to Haiba. See also note 11.

concluded. I have been present on occasions when, after both 582 parties have agreed to a marriage and the groom has collected 605 most of the things necessary to present to the bride at the wedding celebrations, the girl's father's brother's son appears and demands the discontinuance of the arrangements; on one occasion, he did not appear until the actual day of the wedding, but was bought off with a cap, a cloak, and the promise of two sheep. The highest incidence for any form of marriage, moreover, is with the patrilineal parallel cousin, although not necessarily with the first cousin.

Parallel cousin marriage of this sort is not, however, the only 582 form practised among the Bedouin. Much of the writing on Bedouin marriage leaves the impression that a solution of the problem of parallel cousin marriage (Murphy & Kasdal 1959) solves all the problems involved in their system of marriage. In addition to this form, there is a number of others; indeed there is another form of preferential marriage among them, which, although it does not have the compulsive character of parallel cousin marriage, is of major importance. I refer to cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Such a cousin may be, of course, as a result of patrilineal parallel cousin marriage, a patrilineal parallel cousin as well. Such a cousin may be, on the other hand, a woman of another tribal section or of a different tribe altogether. A characteristic form of this marriage is that once it has been initiated, it is perpetuated in successive generations. Members of one line in a tertiary segment will, 582 therefore, be building up kinship ties through marriage in one 613 particular direction. At the same time, another line, by practising the same form of marriage will be weaving ties in a quite different direction. One direction these marriages could take might be to a tertiary segment of a collateral secondary segment; another might be to a primary segment of the same tribe, and yet another to people living in a date oasis. Only occasionally do marriages occur between collateral tertiary segments, and then there is usually some specific reason. In other words, when men marry outside the limits of their own tertiary segment, they leap-frog adjacent segments and marry into structurally more remote groups.

The result of these two marriage patterns is that the people of [621]

582 any summer camp will have descent lines cross linked by the
613 bonds of marriage with parallel cousins, and at the same time
[621] cleaved by the maternal links established by repetitive cross-cousin
marriage to different groups outside the segment. Thus,
in one of its aspects, marriage makes of an agnatic group a group
582 of cognates as well. 'Marry your paternal cousins and both your
613 paternal and maternal relatives will be one,' to quote Bedouin
602 sentiment on the matter. Within this agnatic group, nevertheless,
two other clusters of kin exist—those with maternal connexions
outside. In all, three areas of kinship can be defined,[13] although
all the members of the segment will have the lineage bond of
agnation in common. In normal circumstances, when split does
not threaten the group, the bond of agnation, strengthened by
parallel cousin marriage, takes precedence, although behaviour
is significantly affected by maternal links at any time. There is,
152 in the first instance, great jealousy between co-wives, which is
595 passed on to their children. Each wife has her separate tent, and
593 each is entitled to a strictly equal share of the husband's time
they have in common. This applies similarly to favours he may
grant his wives, and the distribution of his wealth among them.
If, for example, the husband is the owner of a horse, he is required
to tether it outside the tents of his wives in strict rotation;
if he retires for the night with one wife, the following night
he must favour the other; if he buys dress material for the one
he must buy a length of identical material for the other; if he
bestows favours on the children of one the children of the other
must be given equal consideration. Many such details are
meticulously observed; but while many are observed most of the
time, it is difficult to observe them all, the whole time. Any
breach of the rules is quickly taken up by the wives, and quarrels
ensue, leading not only to bitterness among the co-wives, but between
the offended wife and her husband, between the children
of both wives, and between the children and their father. Often,
595 when a man has co-wives, there is a marked discrepancy in age
593 between them, for, when an elderly Bedouin marries a second
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[13] The situation is not always as simple as this. Cross-cousin marriage may take more than two directions, and marriage within the segment might bring about great complexity, but the argument put forward above is not seriously affected by neglecting these details here.

wife he usually chooses a young girl of about twenty years. Children 595
of the elder wife might be adult, therefore, when the children 593
of the junior wife are infants. Great emphasis is placed on 561
seniority, particularly among males, but strong emphasis is also placed on the equality of siblings and their equal legal status. Between brothers of widely differing ages, there is, then, this field of potential conflict. From an early date competitive, if not hostile, relationships develop between the sons of co-wives. Competition 593
between half-brothers results not only from their 586
mothers being co-wives: one group might be the sons of a divorced 587
wife. The latter situation is often much worse, for the sons born of the divorced wife are now being fostered by a woman who is not their mother. A similar condition of things is brought about when a widower with sons remarries. Yet again, when a wife grows old and her sons have reached maturity, her husband may not divorce her formally, but merely 'throw her off his back'; she will then go to live with her grown sons, while her husband, in turn, takes a new wife, usually taking up residence in another camp for a time at least. It would be too much of a digression here to discuss the inheritance disputes, and the disputes over marriage and bride-wealth, which arise out of these
various circumstances. Suffice it to note that such disputes are [613]
common and affect the alignment of people within a tertiary segment.

As half-brothers grow to maturity some of them will marry 613
their maternal cross-cousins, and in succeeding generations some 621
of their descendants will do likewise. In this way, a tertiary segment [582]
united by the bond of agnation, will also have within it smaller groups of kin having different sets of cognatic links. This group, as a residential unit, shows a very high concentration of agnates, and the Bedouin say with pride that members of the camps are always 'one' because of this agnatic bond, and indeed, the corporate identity of this group is strikingly displayed in
many circumstances. It does not take precedence in all circumstances, 613
for, built into agnation, with the heavy burden of duties 578
which go with it, are serious stresses and strains which in some 602
circumstances regularly come out into the open. In yet other circumstances cognatic kinship affiliations appear to be dominant, causing friction among agnates. A man, for example, may permit

613 his maternal kinsmen to use the land and water facilities of
578 his lineage; his agnates may give ready consent or bicker about
602 it, but when it becomes necessary to clean a well, disputes are
almost certain to break out in the camp between those who argue
that their maternal relatives should not be expected to assist in
its cleaning and those who insist they should as an acknowledgement
of the use they have made of it. In these circumstances
613 maternal links divide agnates. Conversely, if it becomes necessary
602 for some of the same men to use the water and ploughland
of their maternal kin, their agnates are only too pleased that
they are able to do so, because the pressure on their own resources
is relieved. In these circumstances, the maternal link
strengthens the agnatic group. When, to give another instance,
613 blood-money has to be gathered, it is the duty of all agnates to
682 contribute equally, and no member of the group, rich or poor,
can contract out of this obligation without sacrificing his membership
of the group. Payments of blood-money are witness of
the strength of the notion of 'oneness' among agnates, in one
sense, but in so far as they are compulsory, they point also to the
weakness in the relationship. Maternal kin are not directly concerned
in this, but they can and do make contributions. In this
context two aspects of agnation appear, and the value of the
602 maternal link is emphasized. Again, maternal kinsmen are not
428 directly concerned in inheritance disputes, but they are expected
578 to intercede for their sister's sons, who often use their mother's
brother's tribal brand on their own animals. During disputes of
this kind, blame is thrown on to the maternal kinsmen for their
interference in matters which, properly speaking, are not their
613 business. In marriage, however, events take quite a different
582 turn. The responsibility for providing a man with a wife is first
that of the father, and secondly of the members of the tertiary
section; the father takes the initiative, and his agnates assist, not
only in the negotiations, but also in defraying the heavy costs of
the wedding festivities, the various gifts that precede it, and the
604 bride-wealth which follows. The mother's brother is also a key
613 person in all these arrangements. He enters into the negotiations,
585 assists with the entertainment on the wedding day, and makes a
[583] substantial contribution to the bride-wealth. On the wedding day,
there is no kinsman to compare with the mother's brother; a few

weeks later, he is reviled for demanding a long overdue instal- 604
ment of his daughter's bride-wealth. He is the person who can be 613
approached freely, to whom love tales can be told, from whom [585]
help can be expected, who gives support in disputes, and who also [583]
upbraids, who punishes, who withholds, who acts as a pull-away
from the agnatic group. An agnate demands help, and also com- 613
pels the fulfilment of obligations. An agnate is a man with whom 602
relationships are formal, particularly if he is a senior. He is, too,
the person who unfailingly, though perhaps grudgingly, gives
help when it is most required; who, regardless of the merits of the
case, defends one against external opposition; and who is always
available at each life crisis. A kinship link is not to be defined by
any one particular mode of behaviour. Each is a cluster of differ-
ent sorts of behaviour, one form taking precedence in these cir-
cumstances, another in other circumstances, and so forth.

The little clusters of kindred can be defined clearly in any of 613
the camps. It is customary among the Bedouin for those who are 602
most closely linked as kindred to pitch their tents close to each 621
other. For example, if a man has two recently married sons, their
tents are pitched on either side of his, with the ropes of their
tents crossing the ropes of their father's tent. More distantly re-
lated kin will be more distantly placed, and here and there,
breaks in the continuity of the lines of tents are to be observed,
corresponding as a rule to breaks in kinship. Each large camp in
this way can be viewed as two or more nuclei of kindred. The
camp as a whole is dominantly composed of agnates, but they
are disposed in such a way as to show clusterings of varying kin-
ship composition. Characteristically each cluster has a separate
name, often a female name which refers to a common mother of
the cluster, or of the head of the leading family in it. When these [221]
relatively large camps break up with the onset of the rains and
disperse to form small camps of five to seven tents for winter
pasturing, they will be seen to correspond almost identically with
the kin clusters of the larger summer camp. Again, a tertiary seg- [312]
ment may have two wells for its own use. In a particular year
there may be sufficient water in one of them to meet the needs
of the whole group, and its members then live together in one
camp; the following year both wells may have to be used, and
the camp of the previous summer will split up, roughly half going

613 621 602 [312] to one well, and the remainder to the other. It is usually an easy matter to predict, at least in a general fashion, how the group will divide, as long as the details of kinship are known; the camps will be composed of members of two sets of patri-lines in the tertiary segment, who will also represent two discrete clusters of cognatic kindred. If, therefore, a tertiary group increases in numbers to the point where a split in the lineage is inevitable, here then is the line of split, along a line, that is, of kinship cleavage and lineage differentiation. 'Men make the tribe; women divide it,' is an oft-quoted saying among the Bedouin; but this, like most sayings, tells only part of the truth, as we shall see.

613 621 It is possible to show where on the genealogy change takes place, and it is possible to indicate the lines cleavages will follow, but the proliferation of a lineage does not occur merely because the possibility exists for it to do so. A group must, clearly, break up if the number of its members significantly exceeds that which can be supported by the available natural resources; water is the prime cause of the proliferation of lineages. Granting this, a group remains an undifferentiated corporation until occasion arises when its members, or some of them, can demonstrate unequivocally that they are no longer bound by its conditions of membership. There is a number of occasions when this can be done, some of which are discussed below.

613 621 672 682 The test, *par excellence,* of corporate affiliation is the acceptance of the responsibility to pay blood-money. Refusal to accept this is the same as renouncing membership of the group. Individuals are sometimes excluded from membership in this way. There are occasions too, when the payment of blood-money involves renunciation by more than one or two individuals. If membership of a section has increased to the point of splitting, and should a homicide occur within it, one of the kin clusters within the group might demand blood-money from the other. Nothing could make the statement of split clearer than this. The most impelling condition of membership of the tertiary group is that 'we pay as one and receive as one', a condition which, of course, excludes payment within the group. Any two groups between which the demand for blood-money has been made are, therefore, by definition, separate tertiary groups.

613 621 765 When a member of a group or his wife dies, there are specific

days on which kin of various sorts should attend the mourning 613
ceremonies, which extend over a period of a week. Allowance is 621
made for those who may be away temporarily, although they are 765
expected to hasten to the mourning camp as quickly as possible.
Agnatic kin are expected not only to be present on the appropriate 613
day, but are required to offer gifts consistent with their 621
relationship to the bereaved; agnates of the tertiary segment are 765
expected to offer a sheep, while some cognates ought to bring a 431
goat and others a quantity of sugar and tea. At one funeral in a camp where I was resident, soon after the death occurred, the main concern of its inhabitants was whether or not certain men of their section would attend the mourning rites and bring appropriate gifts with them. These men lived at the time in another camp a few miles away, as they had been doing for several years past. They did not come when they were expected, and when they finally arrived at the end of the week they brought with them gifts of sugar and tea only—gifts which were totally inappropriate for agnates of the group. They were, in fact, now no longer members of it, and my neighbours were able to tell me, 'They have branched off from us. We will never live together again.' The lineage had proliferated and this was the first occasion for showing it.

Wide-spread in Cyrenaica is a cult of saints. The number of 794
saints' tombs varies from tribe to tribe, there being fewer among 776
the camel herders of the semi-desert than among the cow- 778
herding, almost sedentary, folk of the plateau area. Whatever [788]
the number, the members of the group that venerates a particular
saint make an annual pilgrimage to his tomb, and sometimes
more frequent pilgrimages are made. In one area there were two 794
men, accepted by their respective kin groups as leaders, who vied 554
against each other for the leadership of their section. One of them [648]
had been a famous warrior during the Italian wars and, after being injured, fled to Egypt where he lived for seventeen years, until he returned to his homeland in 1947. The other had also fought against the Italians, failed to win renown, was a captive for a time, later released, and subsequently appointed leader of his section by the Italian authorities. The first, during his period of exile, had become impoverished. The second during his years of freedom had prospered. As far as their personalities

794 were concerned, there was little doubt who was leader—the
554 name of the former was known throughout the land. Now when
794 the warrior returned from his Egyptian exile, his rival offered
him a sheep as a gift. This act was wholly appropriate. Subsequently
554 they continued to compete fiercely, but it soon became
578 clear that the returned warrior was winning the greater support.
[788] In the face of this, the rival, in 1948, decided to break with tradition
by staying away from the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of
[175] the local saint. Instead, he and his followers made their pilgrimage
to a different tomb in the vicinity of their camp, and later
built a low wall round the tomb, whitewashed it, and made it
known that henceforward they would regularly use it for pilgrimages.
[613] The two kinship groups of a tertiary section now had their
[778] separate saint's tomb. Some months later, the rival decided to
794 move with his small group to an area in which they had not previously
resided. It is the custom among the Bedouin when they
554 pitch their tents in a place for the first time, that the people of
578 the neighbourhood should bring them gifts to mark the event.
431 The returned warrior, who had now become a close neighbour
[166] of his rival was obliged, like others, to offer the latter a gift; he
was also obliged to return the gift of a sheep that he had been
given on rejoining his section in 1947. He brought a gift within a
few hours of his rival's arrival, but it was a goat.[14] The rival and
his followers were furious, and the argument that the warrior was
too poor to give more was dismissed summarily. This was the
final insult. The donor, in return, had been given less than he had
presented. The reciprocity of gift exchanges had not only been
arrested, it had been reversed. From then onwards the two groups
made no attempt to conceal their hostility and went their separate
ways.

613 Disputes stemming from circumstances such as these are the
578 occasions which mark the proliferation of groups, although in
all three cases cited, difficulties over water supplies had preceded
the outbreaks of quarrelling.

613 In this discussion of the ways in which proliferation of segments
602 takes place, the emphasis had been put on the tug of war
between the interests of people in their agnatic connexions and
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[14] A goat is inferior to a sheep in gift exchanges.

the interests they have in their maternal relatives. Stated thus 613
sharply, this is a distortion of the process. To speak of the prin- 602
ciple of agnation conflicting with the principle of cognation or 121
maternal origin is nonsense, as the facts included in the discussion show. Agnation is not one thing, but many. Within its scope are included such aspects of social organization as succession, status, inheritance, bride-wealth, blood-money, modes of domestic and political behaviour, and so forth; and each of these aspects, the closer we stick to reality, can be broken up into a number of components. The same can be said of cognation and maternal origin. All these principles, so called, are clusters of numerous component parts, which combine, in reality, in a kaleidoscopic number of ways. In one situation a component of one combines with that of another to strengthen it; in a different situation the one component may repel the other; in a third situation, a number of the components in one will combine to exclude those of the other, and so on. If, therefore, an understanding of the way in which lineage proliferation occurs is sought, a view of the process as a conflict between the principle of agnation and the opposing pull of maternal origin is quite erroneous. It is of use in predicting the direction of cleavage to know that within a tertiary group there are also clusters of kin which are defined roughly by maternal links, and this knowledge serves as a rough and ready guide in predicting what the composition of groups, after they have split away from the parent group, will be. If a more precise picture of this composition is desired, other and more complex kinship links and the behaviour which accompanies them must be taken into account. If a still more accurate picture is desired, details of inheritance disputes, debts of bride-wealth, the size of flocks and herds, and the like, must also be taken into consideration. If, finally, one has the opportunity to study groups after they have proliferated, the presence or absence of this or that man can often be explained only in terms of his eye for a pretty girl or a personal preference for neighbours.

The kind of change which has been discussed in this essay is [178]
not difficult to negotiate in genealogical terms. Earlier it was [621]
stressed that within the tertiary tribal sections, although they [173]
are always predominantly agnatic groups, clusters of cognatic [551]

613 kin also exist. Two ways of naming these clusters are adopted—
602 all groups, whether they are elementary families, an odd assort-
121 ment of kindred sharing a common tent for reasons of expedi-
178 ency, or tribal groups, have a name. Sometimes these clusters are
621 named after a prominent living male, or a deceased kinsman of
173 the same kind. Sometimes these little groups are named after a
551 woman, perhaps the grandmother of the group.[15] Thus a small
group of two or three tents will be distinguished from another similar cluster within the camp, and so on for a number of groups, depending on the size of the camp. Most camps, however many tents they contain, have names for progressively inclusive clusters of tents until a twofold named division is reached. Tertiary segments that are forced to split contain therefore two groups with names already attached to them. When a split occurs, the name of the tertiary segment is pushed into the area of ambiguity and the names of what were previously two clusters become the names of two new tertiary segments, with a minimum adjustment in usage and a minor re-shuffle at the tertiary level of segmentation. Names cannot continue to be pushed into this area of the genealogy interminably, otherwise it would gradually expand into a vast pool of names. For a few generations the name dispensed with in this way becomes one of those ancestors about whom there is argument when genealogies are given. In the course of time, name after name is subjected to the process of elision and eventually will cease to be of concern to anyone.

105 I now summarize the main points of the discussion. The evi-
613 dence that has been examined suggests that the mechanical de-
173 vices of telescoping, fusion of names, and extinction of lines do
178 not affect orders of segmentation superior to that of the tertiary
order, and that in conditions of a completely stable population,
[551] these devices alone would suffice to retain the form of the genea-
logical structure. But, it was argued, conditions of complete stability cannot be assumed; the evidence of the present distribution of population among the numerous tertiary groups clearly points to marked fluctuations occurring within these small groups. This being so, proliferation of these groups in some areas at some

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[15] The naming of groups within a tertiary segment is an interesting study in itself, but it would be outside the limits of this discussion to make more than a brief mention of it.

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times, must follow, and conversely, while proliferation takes place here, combination will be taking place elsewhere as the population of groups decreases. The condition which compels proliferation is the alteration in the relationship of man and animals to the natural resources; and when this alteration builds up to an acute pressure on water and land, one group of a divided segment must move off to seek water elsewhere.

The next task was to demonstrate where this kind of change occurred on the genealogy. The sudden irregularity in the number of segments at the tertiary order, compared with the uniformity at others, provided a clue. Other evidence also pointed to this as a significant order in this context: there is ambiguity displayed with regard to the identity and positioning of ancestors here; members adopted into a lineage are grafted on to it here; clients are attached to tertiary sections; groups of noblemen, when they are detached and move off to another tribe, break away at this point. This is where change occurs, but, it was agreed, in understanding the way in which it takes place, certain forms of marriage have to be taken into account. Particular emphasis was placed on cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, and to women outside the tertiary segment, since the effect of these forms of marriage is to produce two or more clusters of cognatic kindred in camps largely composed of agnates, and to emphasize the line of cleavage in a lineage segment. So that when, therefore, a split occurs, the line it takes is predetermined. Proliferation, even when necessary, does not finally come about, however, until an occasion permits the separation of groups to be demonstrated by a violation of the conditions of membership of a group. Details of three such occasions were offered: the demand for blood-money between agnates who previously had constituted a politically undivided section; behaviour contrary to the demands of agnatic kinship in attendance and gift-giving at funerals; and failure to participate in a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb of a particular section. But another query remained: how are the newly formed groups named? It was seen that names already in daily use by the small group of people concerned came to assume a new significance, while the name which had previously spanned them all is disregarded and pushed into the area of ambiguity whence later it is elided altogether. [551]

105 Change due to the normal and inevitable process of proliferation
613 is thus managed within the structural limits of the tertiary section
173 without disturbing any of the superior orders in the system. The
178 latter remain fixed over long periods, but the tertiary sections of
a particular secondary action may be reduced in number over a few generations while another secondary section may show a corresponding increase in the number of its segments.

121 By combining the various factors involved in change, it is pos-
178 sible to understand the details of lineage proliferation, or at least
to travel along a well signposted road. In the light of this analy-
613 sis, moreover, it is unnecessary to assume a stable population in
161 each and every segment over long periods; the mechanisms of
readjustment allow for substantial irregularities and fluctuations in population. It is possible that they are also sufficient to contain significant increases in the aggregate population. They could almost certainly control minor fluctuations, but it is seriously doubted whether a population increase sufficient to produce a country-wide and acute water shortage could be met merely by the proliferation of tertiary lineage segments. But to deal with this problem other aspects of the Bedouin genealogy and details of Cyrenaican history, which have necessarily been omitted from this discussion, would have to be taken into account, and this is best left for another article.

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SOME STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF THE FEUD AMONG THE CAMEL-HERDING BEDOUIN OF CYRENAICA[1]

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WHEN a Bedouin kills another in Cyrenaica, one of a number of consequences 682
ensues. According to the Bedouin, the particular consequence is determined by 571
the genealogical positions of the persons or groups concerned. In the first part of 829
this article an analysis of the disturbances in social relationships precipitated by 128
homicide is made, using a lineage model as a framework. In this part of the discussion the arrangement of the information corresponds closely to the view the
Bedouin give of their relationships. Additional information is then presented to show [613] ●
that this lineage model neither covers several important areas of social relationships
nor enables an accurate prediction of events to be made. This raises the issue: can the 121
comprehensive power of the model be increased by complicating it, or does com- 613
plexity destroy its utility? The argument advanced is that the lineage model is not a 571
sociological one, but that it is a frame of reference used by a particular people to give them a common-sense kind of understanding of their social relationships. For
sociological purposes this means that the lineage model, with its supporting theoreti- [128]
cal presuppositions, must perforce be abandoned. In the latter part of this article
some of the implications of adopting this position are discussed. Particular stress is [578]

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[1] This study is based on field-work in Cyrenaica carried out over a period of twenty-seven months from January 1948 to December 1950. The field-work was made possible by the award of a Horniman Studentship and of a Treasury Senior Studentship in Oriental Languages and Cultures. I wish to express my thanks to both awarding bodies. The paper was presented in its first form to a seminar at Manchester University. Modified versions were read at Oxford and Cambridge and at University College London in 1963. In a Manchester seminar, Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie raised issues which led me to reconsider my mode of analysis. Professor Ely Devons read a draft of the article, and offered valuable suggestions. I also wish to thank Professor Gluckman for the 12
many profitable discussions we have had on the
institution of the feud. My interest in the feud stems [114] ←
directly from Evans-Pritchard's work on the institution among the Nuer. I am most grateful to him for his help and encouragement while I was pursuing my researches. Finally, anyone writing on the feud must acknowledge the contribution made to its understanding by Dr. Elizabeth Colson.

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121 given to the feud, for this is one of the few societies in which it occurs.[1] What is
613 meant here by a state of feud is a set of relationships between two tribal groups which
578 are characterized by hostility whenever two or more of their members meet. These
591 hostilities are of a sort which cannot be terminated; feud is not a matter of a group
121 indulging in hostilities here at one moment and there the next, but a sequence of
619 hostilities which, as far as the contemporary Bedouin are concerned at least, know
578 no beginning and are insoluble. Feud and the other forms of relationships to be
[591] discussed presently are to be understood, in part, by reference to the ordered divisions
of the tribes. It is necessary at the outset, therefore, to give a brief statement about
the tribal organization; other details will be included as they become relevant.

619 There are nine noble tribes in Cyrenaica whose members are referred to as freemen.
621 These tribes see themselves as divided into three genealogical orders of sections:
primary, secondary, and tertiary. The tertiary tribal sections correspond to the camps
613 which cluster around the larger watering points during the drought season, May to
[132] November. Such camps consist of clusters of smaller camps in which the concentration of agnatically related males is over 80 per cent. Within the latter kinship links
are known, so that these agnates are consanguinely related as well as politically
[162] united. The populations of most tertiary groups vary from about 200 to 700 or so,
but a group ceases to be viable if the number of male adults drops much below fifty.
Political division is absent from these tertiary groups, regardless of their precise
size, for, whatever may be the condition of developing local lineages, the acceptance
of a common name carries with it full political responsibility incumbent equally on
[423] all their members. Each of these tertiary sections, moreover, has its own watering
point, ploughland, and pastures; each has its own *watan* or homeland. This statement
is true of all tribal sections of whatever order of segmentation. In other words, the
tribes and their sections correspond to an ordered division of the territory.

619 Names of tribal sections are the same as those given in the genealogies. Both tribe
613 and lineage are identically ordered. Lineages develop, and split at the tertiary order
of segmentation,[2] and, *a fortiori*, the process is the same for the tertiary tribal sections.
Split, in other words, occurs where relationships are most intense.

621 The summer community which constitutes a tertiary section, breaks up once the
221 rains begin in November or December. At this time of the year water is readily
available in the numerous small cisterns, there is pasture in plenty, and the animals
are giving milk. These combined reasons lead the larger summer camp to divide
into smaller camps of some five to ten tents. The latter are separated one from the
other by short distances—a mile or so—but together form a cluster in that they are
621 territorially distinguishable from a neighbouring and similar group of camps. Ter-
311 tiary sections are discrete also in the sense that all the major necessities of daily living
are available within their several territories. Each controls its own natural resources,
and these resources are the same for all the camel-herding groups—in any given year
one may have more of a particular commodity than another, but the difference is in

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[171] [1] Evans-Pritchard, 1940. The feud might have been present among the Nuer. Exogamy and the other rules of marriage which obtain among them create a dispersion of ties, which superficially appears to militate against a condition of feud. But a dispersal of ties does not mean that they necessarily act as a pressure for peace. Moreover, the exogamous links may link limited numbers of groups only, leaving others with sufficient discreteness to pursue feuding relationships as they are described in this paper.

[2] See Peters, 1959.

degree and is ephemeral, so that the opportunity for the development of trade relations 621
is absent.[1] Save for straying animals, a section has no urgent need to seek 311
relationships with others, as long as the rainfall is sufficient to permit the exploitation [619]
of local resources.

The tertiary section is also regarded as the corporate group *par excellence*, in which 621
'the one word does for all'. Corporate identity is conceptualized as 'one bone' 613
or 'one body'. An offence against one of its members is held to be an offence
against all; if one of its members is killed 'we all lose blood'. When one of its members [682]
commits homicide the responsibility falls on all equally. Blood money, when
received, is shared by all save for a special portion reserved for the 'owner of the [672]
blood', the nearest agnate of the victim. In opposite circumstances, all adult males accept the responsibility of contributing an equal share to the blood money. Rules of membership, simple in their brevity, express graphically this corporate identity: 'You must strike with us and be struck with us; you must pay with us and receive with us.' The group also bears a name, and there is never any doubt about the affiliation of any tribesman. That group of men—known as the *'amarā dam*—who are agreed on the obligation to exact vengeance, to pay blood money when necessary, to engage in common defence, and to accept the possibility of death in vengeance, is a fixed and clear-cut group, not one whose membership has to be calculated by reference to degrees of kinship in regard to a specific situation, as appears to be the case among other peoples.

Homicide within the *'amarā dam* brings about an impasse in relationships. A blood- 621
money payment is out of the question since the acceptance of blood money by one 613
part of a tertiary section from another of its parts is tantamount to a statement of 682
split. Only in conditions where relationships within the lineage have developed to the 682
point of political severance is it anticipated that a blood-money payment may be 627
demanded; but this problem is not the same as that at present under discussion.
Bedouin say that blood money cannot pass within the *'amarā dam* for those making [829]
the payment would be the persons receiving it. This is spurious reasoning, since the
'owner of the blood' is awarded more than any other members of the group as it is, and arrangements could obviously be made to pay him separately. Blood money is out of the question because it distinguishes relationships between people as belonging to two distinct political communities, and not because of any difficulty of distribution.
In Bedouin thinking, an injury to 'the one body' is an injury to all its parts. Blood- [829]
money payments by members of a corporation to one or more of its members is a contradiction in terms. In the same way vengeance is also excluded, for this merely doubles the original loss. A reprisal exacted in hot blood is always a possibility, but this is not referred to as *thār*, vengeance. Even if, at a later date, the closest kinsman of the victim should slay the offender, the act would not be referred to as *thār* and any connexion with earlier homicides would be denied.

Stultified in the field of political action, there is little else that can be done. Expulsion 682
is a possible course of action—and expulsion has occurred. Records show, however, that exile is almost invariably voluntary.[2] Moreover, exile is terminated as

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[1] Many sections trade fleeces for dates with the folk of distant oases, but the sections do not trade among themselves.

[2] I recorded one case of a man who was expelled from his group and the tribes around were warned that the rules of sanctuary were not to apply to him. [438] He is said to have died from grief and hunger. The reason given for such drastic action is that he killed

682 a rule by the return of the offender to his camp after the lapse of a number of years. A man who had already killed six people killed a seventh, his first paternal cousin. He and his brothers fled the tribe; he died in exile and it was not until some thirty
[123] years later that his brother and nephew returned. Another man, who had killed his first paternal cousin, used my entry into a camp as the occasion for his re-entry, pitching his tent rope on rope with mine, and mine in turn was rope on rope with the tent of the camp's shaikh.[1]

621 An effort is always made to hush up the matter when a homicide occurs within a
682 tertiary section. It is for this reason that the name of the victim is not perpetuated.
•613 Normally it is an obligation to perpetuate the names of the deceased, especially when
[551] they have been killed in homicide, but in the circumstances now being discussed the name is suppressed. As one man expressed the general sentiments, stretching out his toga in front of him: 'Look at the hole in my toga; it would be better without it, but what can I do? Make it bigger? It is better to cover it up.' Any penal action taken against the offender could only enlarge the wound he had already opened. The notion of corporate identity is so strong that it eliminates the use of penal action against one of its members for the greatest offence of all. While overtly every effort is made to expunge the memory of a homicide of the sort described above, the Bedouin are most articulate in their views about the offender. He is referred to as one who 'defecates in the tent' thus likening him to an animal, for no human being would do this. Other expletives used in reference to him are: one who 'destroys the lineage', who 'corrupts the family'; he is one who 'brings confusion', who 'provokes God' and causes 'the evil of leprosy to eat into relationships'. Their feelings about the offender, who 'commits robbery internally', are summed up in the word *fitna*. This, in its Cyrenaican use, corresponds closely to the notion of sin as it is used in the Old Testament; in the sense, that is to say, of an act which causes an impasse in relationships, which creates chaos among a small group of related people, and produces internal calamity. And this is indeed the situation brought about by such homicide among the Bedouin. Flowing blood, they are wont to say, can only be staunched by blood (i.e. a vengeance killing), but if a man kills within a close agnatic range the corporate body continues to bleed. Nothing can be done. The group is left helpless, and this is sin.

The first step in this exposition, therefore, is to attach to homicide within a tertiary section the notion of its being *fitna*, carrying with it voluntary and temporary expulsion.

682 A homicide which involves two collateral tertiary sections is a different matter
628 altogether, for now the parties constitute two discrete political groups. Political
621 machinery can be set in motion to deal with the breach in relationships, and conse-
quently a homicide of this sort does not pose the dilemma which is created when it
613 occurs within a politically undivided group. Not only do agnates of two collateral tertiary sections behave towards each other as two groups of people, but the nature of their relationships is fundamentally different from those obtaining between mem-

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682 a first cousin in cold blood because of a dispute between them over the ownership of a new-born kid. Although this was the only reason given by the Bedouin other considerations were involved—the victim was said to have been a fine person, and his killer a constant trouble maker, and so on.

[1] See for comparison Robertson Smith, 1903. The tent is an area of sanctuary, and this extends to include the ropes also.

bers of an undivided group. It is erroneous to suppose that because the different 621
orders of sections are homologous in their structural aspects they do not differ; they 613
do, because the interests associated with the various orders are different.[1] 628

Collateral tertiary segments are associated with different tracts of territory. Each [682]
has its own watering rights as a group, and although groups may share a grain store, [423]
it is divided on group lines. Members of these different groups do not gather together in summer to form a single community, though at some of the very big watering points they are near each other. Social relationships between them are, however, intense. Visits are frequent. They meet to exchange news, or to inquire after the [574]
sick. They exchange greetings during the major festivals, and members of one group attend the funerals and weddings of the others, taking gifts. They also meet at the grain stores. Herdsmen, as they pursue straying animals, wander freely in their neighbours' territory. Relationships of this sort, some of them urgently necessary for survival, do not permit the feuding relationships to be described presently. Permanent hostility which characterizes the feud would seriously disrupt everyday economic activities, limit the pastoral movements of the Bedouin beyond endurance, and sever lines of communication which they always strive to keep open.

A homicide, when it involves two collateral tertiary groups must, therefore, be 621
resolved quickly. This can be effected in two ways. Vengeance may be exacted 613
immediately. This is always referred to as a vengeance killing or *thār*, and is to be 628
distinguished from a superficially similar act within a tertiary group, since *thār* carries 682
with it the implication that it is premeditated. A *thār* between two tertiary sections is considered to be the best way of settling the affair and, after an appropriate lapse of time, a peace meeting is held at which it is accepted that the killings have cancelled each other out. The deliberations at this meeting are followed by a meal at which all present 'eat around the one bowl'; the meal over, they all pray together. A life had been taken for a life and the way is now open for the restoration of normal peaceful relationships. Vengeance needs to be distinguished from feud, for while retaliatory killings provide the propulsive force in the feud a vengeance killing may be the means whereby a settlement of hostilities is made possible.

An end to hostilities may also be brought about by a promise to pay blood money 621
or *diya*, and its acceptance by the victim's group. Arrangements for blood-money 613
discussions are made by a category of persons known as *marabtin bi'l baraka*, or 628
'clients of the goodness', men who, by virtue of descent and origin, stand outside
the descent lines of the noble tribes, and who are accredited with divine goodness. 682
They tend the sick, write amulets, and are always present at a peace meeting to give 792
it the weight of their baraka. Soon after the homicide has occurred they act as intermediaries to bring the hostile groups together at a peace meeting.[2] Ostensibly, the 621
first part of the proceedings at these meetings is to settle the amount of the blood 613
money, and how and when it is to be paid. Agreement on these counts will have been 628
reached, however, before the large peace gathering is assembled, for there is a gener- 682

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[1] This statement requires more documentation than I am able to give to it in this paper, but the descriptive details given hereafter give it some substance. See also Smith, 1956.

[2] It is necessary to add here that these clients do not assume coercive powers. They are granted the power to curse, but the curse that is feared is the curse of their dead when an oath is given at a saint's tomb. When they know that groups wish to make peace they assist as messengers in bringing people together, but they do not use their power to curse as a pressure.

621 613 628 682 ally recognized amount of blood money to compensate a homicide. The wrangling that goes on at the meeting is of a conventional kind, and it is known in advance that several distinguished guests present will supplicate for a reduction of the amount demanded by the victim's group, until the amount generally accepted as appropriate is reached. Such haggling makes it possible for the victim's surviving agnates to maintain the fiction that they yielded only under the strongest pressure from the desert [264] leaders and holy men. The main importance of the meeting is that the two hostile groups are brought together again for the first time, that the cleavage between them has been narrowed sufficiently to permit them to eat round one bowl, and that, by virtue of this commensal meal, the way is now open for the restoration of normal relationships. Subsequently there may be another killing, which, in the mind of the perpetrator, is connected with the earlier death of a kinsman, but it is not publicly recognized as one in a series of killings, or even as a vengeance killing; it is regarded as unique, and the method of dealing with it is on the basis of this fiction. Feud is not permitted between two collateral tertiary sections, for although the pattern of homicide may be similar to that of a feud, the two are never equated. There is good reason for this, since, whatever the similarity in pattern, the social relationships between the groups involved are radically different; each homicide involving tertiary sections is regarded as a unique event, and the relationships between times are friendly, whereas in feud relationships are permanently hostile and need not be otherwise for social, economic, or religious purposes.

Blood money when it brings peace brings it because payment is made only in part. It is never regarded as a payment for the life of a man, to be dissipated wantonly. ' The owner of the blood ' should marry a wife with it to beget children (one son to be named after the victim) or to buy camels to provide for a future marriage, or to buy a horse to be used to ride in bringing vengeance. Sufficient is paid to cover either of the first two alternatives; as far as my records go the third alternative is romanticism. At the peace meeting the offender's group does not promise to pay the total amount in one sum. An initial instalment is promised after the next lambing season or barley harvest. When the time comes it can be argued that the sheep dropped a disappointingly small number of lambs, or that the barley harvest did not fulfil expectations. If there is room for negotiation over the initial payment, the permitted manœuvring over subsequent payments is much greater. Promises made at the peace meeting relating to these subsequent payments do not specify the exact amount of each; the statement is no more definite than that the remainder should be paid over the following three to five years. Consequently when the second payment falls due, the offender's group can argue more cogently that their circumstances do not permit even a reduced payment, for the payment of the previous year was substantial and they have not yet recovered from this outlay. ' The owner of the blood ' is pressed to consider this, and to accept only a fraction of the wealth he had come to collect. The argument is cumulative, and can be used to excuse the rapidly decreasing payments of each successive year, until there comes a time when attempts to collect payments are discontinued. The arguments about the payments bear no relationship to the wealth possessed by a group. During the annual hagglings, and while members of the offender's group are declaring their straitened circumstances as an excuse for the small amount offered, the ' owner of the blood ' knows full well that two or three

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613 hundred of their sheep are grazing in the neighbourhood. This is beside the point.
628 What is important is that the offender's group is showing a desire to remain on
628 friendly terms, and members of the victim's group are doing likewise by accepting
682 reduced amounts. Compared with what the payments should be, after four years they
are trivial and soon cease altogether. Blood money, if it is to achieve the purpose of
621 restoring peaceful relationships, must work in this way among the Bedouin, for, as
613 they view the matter, a single payment of the full amount would only terminate
628 relationships. There would be no further obligations to hold them together. The
682 payment of a debt in full means only one thing—hostility. Where there is no debt,
571 there are no relationships. Debt must be allowed to run between groups, for it is this
182 which creates obligations and perpetuates social relationships.[1] As the debt of blood
money mounts, the social relationships between the groups improve. The cessation
of payments and the absence of further demands is final earnest that the relationships
are again normal.

613 The second step in this exposition, therefore, is to attach to homicide between
628 tertiary sections the penalty of vengeance or the payment of blood money, both
621 achieving the same end of bringing about a restoration of peaceful relationships.

682 Between secondary sections, relationships are again different. Ecologically, the
619 areas are distinct. The topography may be dissimilar—sand dunes in one area and
613 low valleys in another; secondly, the soils may differ—sandy soil here and firm valley
[133] bottom soil there; thirdly, while the climatic régime of the two areas may be broadly
similar, since there is marked variability in the aggregate annual rainfall which is
[132] coupled with a high variability from place to place, each secondary section has its
own micro-climate, sufficiently well defined for one area to be well watered in any
given year while a neighbouring area suffers partial drought. These differences affect
[221] productive activities. Seasonal movements are also affected: some secondary sections
move annually over considerable distances and in fixed directions, while members of a collateral section may move only a few miles and these short moves may vary in direction from year to year. It is true that minor ecological differences exist between collateral tertiary sections, but these do not affect the economy and the way of life in the manner described for secondary sections. Partly because of their territorial extent, partly because of the larger aggregate population, the secondary sections are more self-contained, not only ecologically and economically but also in terms of social relationship. More of the requirements of everyday living can be met within the territory and span of a secondary section than within those of a tertiary section. Secondary sections develop a kind of specialization to the extent that in any year some of them will have more usable natural resources than others, but because these differences are ephemeral they do not lead to the development of permanent trade relations. Add to all this the fact that agnates are concentrated in camps on the territory which belongs to their lineage, and the discreteness of secondary sections is
[582] immediately apparent. Marriage rules make this discreteness potentially, at least, even
more sharply defined, for unlike other 'lineage societies' where exogamy, coupled
with other marriage regulations, compels the dispersion of kin links among lineage

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[1] This point becomes clearer when considered in the general context of debt relationship among the Bedouin. Marriage payments, gift exchanges, hospitality, various forms of help, and so on are all aspects, with blood money, of an intricate and fascinating web of debt relationships.

619 segments, the Bedouin are free to marry within as close a range as the first cousin on
●613 either side. Preferential marriage with the father's brother's daughter exists, not
582 merely as a sentiment, but with the legal force of permitting a man this choice against all other men. Before a father arranges the marriage of his daughter he first must seek the permission of his brother's son. Moreover, if a first-parallel cousin is not available, a Bedouin is free to take as a wife any parallel cousin within the minimal lineage. Much weight has been given to the value of exogamy as a device for the definition of groups; parallel-cousin marriage is equally suitable for the purpose—indeed it is better for it has the effect of knitting the members of a local group together as cognates, thereby throwing the group into isolated relief.

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682 Consequently, when a homicide occurs between two secondary sections, there is no urgent necessity to make peace, the relationship between them being of a kind that can be controlled and altered to suit the circumstances. It is between these groups that the argument—if the argument is taken up at all—centres on the circumstances of the killing, every effort being made to show that insult was deliberately added to homicide, that one homicide is to be distinguished from another because a man of great renown was singled out as the avenger's victim, or that in a vengeance killing there was a breach of taboo as well. A debt is always left over, and it is an impelling obligation for the Bedouin to redeem it. They frequently speak of vengeance in this context as ' redeeming the debt '. Again, any homicide between two secondary sections is regarded as one in a series, whether the details or even the name of the victim of the previous homicide is known or not. I recall discussing a double homicide with a close kinsman of the slayer, and the only way he could account for it was by telling me that his kinsman had to kill because his victims were of such and such a group. The feud knows no beginning, and it has no end. It is a form of behaviour associated with a specific structural order, and it is as persistent as the structural order itself; in this sense it is eternal. It was most difficult to get the Bedouin to give accounts of homicides other than those which had occurred over the past fifty years or so, but they invariably claimed that the origin was earlier than this, although they were wholly unaware of the identity of the earlier victims. In any event, their only historical frame of reference is the genealogy; and history, as a chronological sequence of events, has no meaning beyond the founding ancestor of a minimal segment. When they refer events to points on the genealogy superior to this, they are no longer thinking in terms of the temporal order of events, but in terms of what they know to be the contemporary relationships between groups, for the names on the genealogy are names of groups and do not bear a relation to a time scale in any sense. Put in another way, for them a homicide which involves two secondary sections must be a feud, because this is the nature of the relationships between the groups, and there must have been previous killings, otherwise the people involved would not belong to two separate secondary groups.

The relationships which are referred to as feud are of a kind which requires at least a show of hostility whenever the parties happen to meet. Even if they do not actually meet, but are in the vicinity, some sort of demonstration is likely. Thus, several shots were fired at a man riding some distance away from a camp, and although positive identification was difficult at this range, the men of the camp argued it must have been a member of a group with which they were at feud otherwise the passer-by

would have dropped in on the camp. In another situation, two men entered a shop 613 •
in a market-place; inside sat two men of a feuding group who, instead of retreating 628
hastily, greeted those who had just entered, and the latter returned the greeting with 682
blows on the head from the butts of their rifles. Markets in Cyrenaica are recognized [443]
to be places of peace. In their actions the two offenders not only injured two others
but also broke a taboo in a public place. The victim's group now had to avenge not [683]
only the injury but the insult that the breach of taboo carried with it, as well. In most feud relationships this is characteristic. It is never a matter of a simple homicide, but of killing a man at the entrance to his tent, between the centre poles of his tent, or taking the life of a minor, or an elder too old to carry arms and so on. Each successive killing ensures that the hostile relationships will be perpetuated.

The third step in this exposition, therefore, is the association of a state of feud with the secondary order of segmentation.

When the relationships between the structurally superior primary tribal sections 619
are examined, the arguments against the necessity for peace are stronger than in the case of secondary sections. Relationships between them are few and irregular. Only occasionally do members of these groups meet, and then often accidentally; very many men of collateral primary sections are complete strangers one to the other.
If a homicide occurs between two primary sections it is unlikely that any attempt to 619
open negotiations will be made. The offender's camp may be raided by a *ghazi* 682
recruited from the victim's kinsmen. There would be no question of these primary [721]
sections going to war. On a raid firearms may be used, but the action is limited to a strike-and-run affair. If the issue is joined and members of both sides are ranged [726]
against each other they fight with sticks to avoid large-scale slaughter: warfare must not be allowed within the tribe. Wars belong to intertribal relationships. For one of 175
these wars, apart from hearsay evidence, some records exist. These tell of a war 619
which took place during the period 1860 to 1865, in which there were planned cam- 726
paigns, the organization of fighters into groups, and provisions for a labour force in the home territory, large enough to produce sufficient food to maintain an army in the field. During this war several hundred people were killed.

At this point, it is possible to summarize the stages in this exposition of the 619
Bedouin view in diagrammatic form.

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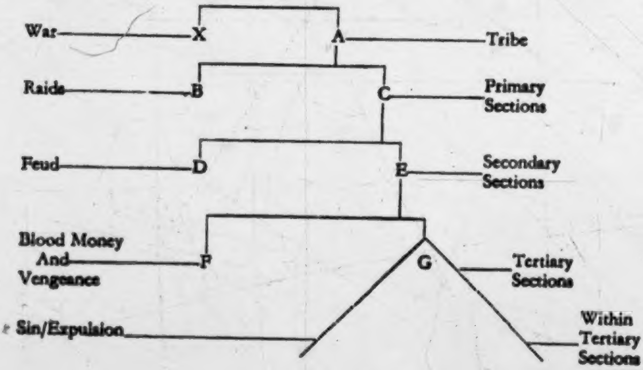

682 602 To complete this general statement, two further circumstances are cited by the Bedouin. If a man kills a related person who is not an agnate (it is expressed as killing the mother's brother) the breach in relationships must be healed as quickly as possible. The convention for dealing with this is that the offender, bound hand and foot, mounted on a horse, is sent to the camp of 'the owner of the blood', in the company of a holy man, there to make an offer of his life, saying: 'Here is my knife, my life is yours; here is my shroud, my life is yours.' No Bedouin would agree for a moment to undertake this journey if he thought the offer might be accepted. In Bedouin sentiments a life offered in this way cannot be taken. It is the convention which precedes a peace meeting and blood money. Any other way of dealing with the confusion, which spreads as a result of a homicide between cognates, is excluded.

682 562 613 582 591 Secondly, if a woman is killed, whatever the intersegmentary distance, the homicide is said to be accidental, because a man never 'intends' to kill a woman. Blood-money arrangements are made as soon as possible, and the wealth—half that of a man—passes to the deceased's father, not to her husband, for a woman's 'bone' always belongs to her father. Obviously women cannot be allowed to enter into feud; since it is demographically compelling (apart from other reasons) for some of them to marry outside their natal groups, then they might well find themselves residents in the enemy's camps, if they were to become involved in feuds.

121 682 613 829 619 This statement of the different means available for the regulation of homicide at the several orders of tribal segmentation is the view the Bedouin themselves hold of their relationships. An analysis of the facts presented thus far could bring out a number of interesting points with regard to the relativity of morals, the typification of acts by their social context, the significance of the orders of segmentation, and so on. Rather than proceed along these lines, however, it is more urgently necessary to reflect on the significance of the fact that the arrangement of the material in terms of what is usually called the lineage structure coincides with the Bedouin ordering of the same details. It is, of course, important to note that the account is not based on mere hearsay evidence. Each statement made can be documented from known homicides, and to this extent the model that has been used is consistent with reality. The model, nevertheless, can only be a representation of what a particular people, the Bedouin, conceive their social reality to be; it is a kind of ideology which enables them, without making absurd demands on their credulity, to understand their field of social relationships, and to give particular relationships their *raison d'être*. But, as will be shown, it would be a serious error to mistake such a folk model for sociological analysis. Such an error is difficult to avoid because the Bedouin, when defending their view, are able to cite enough bits and pieces of reality to make their argument con-
121 vincing. The flaw in the reasoning is seen when it can be shown that its consequences
114 are absurd. As an example of what is meant, the statement that feud is attached to
613 groups at the secondary order of segmentation may be considered. If the statement were true, if each and every secondary section were at feud one with the other (and
619 in a structural sense this ought to be so), then each tribe would be divided into small
829 mutually hostile groups, which completely lacked any possibility of movement, even
578 for pasturing purposes. Presented with this, the Bedouin would argue that this is not in fact so, because secondary and primary sections are interlinked in many ways. That is, they evoke what to them are contingencies to explain why they are at feud with one

121 part of a secondary section but not with another. Once contingencies are permitted
●613 to enter in, the lineage model ceases to be of use, for what is implied is that at all
114 times some parts of sections structurally situated for feuding do not in fact feud.
[619] Other facts can be adduced to show that the structural view is inadequate but, before
[829] proceeding to examine these, some general objections to the lineage theory need to
[578] be raised. In the first instance, the corner stone in the theory of lineage systems is that
they consist of parts which are in balanced opposition. It is no accident that the idiom generally used in discussing the segmentation of a lineage system is that segments bifurcate. Indeed bifurcation is necessary if lineage theory is to make sense, because if at any order there are more than two segments, then combinations can occur which are not comprehended by the theory. In the Cyrenaican lineage the number of segments at the tertiary order is haphazard, in some cases as few as two but in others as many as a dozen or so. Where there are many segments at this order it is rather pointless to speak in terms of balanced opposition. Moreover, at the secondary order of segmentation the number of segments are fairly consistent throughout the tribes, but they number more than two in all of them. It is also a fact that combinations occur and, moreover, these may be between the tertiary segments of two ' opposed ' secondary segments.

121 Secondly, in lineage theory groups come together to constitute larger segments in
613 opposition to like segments. Yet in lineage societies there is a lack of instituted
571 authority, there are no chiefs distributed throughout the land as heads of segments
622 of the hierarchical orders. This being so, then it is not possible for all the sections of, say, a secondary section to come together; there is no one to command the action.
114 In fact, sections combine in Cyrenaica, but not in the way they should according to the
lineage structure. In order to discuss this adequately, a lengthy diversion into an analysis of the distribution of power would be necessary. The matter must rest here with the admittedly somewhat dogmatic assertion that there are men who wield power over groups of varying populations, and that the extent of their domains cannot be understood by reference to orders in the lineage. Perhaps it is for this reason—because, that is to say, lineage theory effectively blocks the exercise—that relatively little has been written about the problem of leadership in these societies.

121 Thirdly, all segments should be fairly equal in numbers of people and economic
613 resources, if the theory of lineage were to have substance in reality. In Cyrenaica
114 the population of one tertiary segment may be three times or more that of another.
[621] Both may be structurally equal in the sense that they are named groups segmenting
as a pair of brothers from a common father. As political groups, however, this equality has little meaning. Further, with regard to economic resources, some sections possess several wells and a territory of such extent that it straddles two or even more of what might be called micro-ecological areas. With marked preponderance in numbers and superiority of resources, some groups have grown into dominance, and the evidence points to the existence of this dominance in the past also. However, ' like ' sections may appear on a lineage chart, in political action there is conspicuous
[619] disparity. Each tribe possesses one tertiary section or more with a claim to be the
owners of the ' Golden Stirrup '; these are large tertiary groups with relatively plenti-
[621] ful resources, with allies in other groups, and, in sum, with the power to terrorize other tribal groups.

121 These three objections to the lineage theory as a useful model for examining the
613 consequences of homicide are serious enough in themselves, but another objection
562 renders it still less satisfactory. This fourth objection relates to the implication that
114 lineage theory cannot take account of women. Indeed, in some of the accounts of the
political organization of lineage societies, the impression is given that they are all-male
societies: women belong only to the domestic and kinship realms. In terms of
the theory, this must be so. Women, the marriage links they create, the forms of
relationships that derive from marriage, the right of men to joke with others by
virtue of a link through women, their rights to demand favours of men who are not
their agnates, their right to expect contributions to bridewealth or blood money
from maternal relatives—all these, and other forms of behaviour, have been dealt
with as patterns of behaviour which interfere with or disturb agnation, or that cut
121 across lineage affiliations. Such metaphors can only be justified if it is accepted that
613 precedence must be given to agnation, to what people say they think their lineage
relationships to be, and that there is some kind of primacy about what have frequently
been called jural rules which constitute the structure, while behaviour which is not
governed by these rules is to be relegated to the position of secondary forms having
the effect of intruding only. But these secondary forms of behaviour are as impelling,
as persisting, and are as much a part of social life as any of the so-called jural rules.
[582] It is possible to go further than this, and state that in societies where there is a high
incidence of marriage among agnates of the local group, as occurs among the Bedouin,
jural rules rarely appear in their 'pure' form in behaviour, since, in groups of this
sort, each and every person constitutes a bundle of roles by virtue of the fact that he
is one of a very complex cognatic group; a particular role, it is true, may take precedence
in a particular situation, but all roles are present in each situation and affect
behaviour. Precedence can only be given to specific forms of behaviour in relation
to situations. There is no such thing as a general primacy with regard to any form.
The concept of agnation as the centre of all political problems, disturbed or disrupted
by, say, matrilaterality, is as inadequate as saying that the nucleus which pulls all other
components into position is matrilaterality with agnation as a disturbing element. In
reality there are numerous components present in all situations, which should not
be lumped together under such categorizing terms as agnation and matrilaterality,
but which combine as separate components in a kaleidoscopic range of clusters.

121 Some of the components of behaviour subsumed under the notion of matrilaterality
613 are briefly given here in order to appreciate more fully the consequence of inter-group
marriage. Of paramount importance is the fact that, in Bedouin sentiment, to kill
682 a relative is as sinful an act as the killing of a close agnate. When such a homicide
674 did occur, during my period of residence among them, the Bedouin response was to
829 assert that the offender was out of his mind—it was inconceivable that he could have
[602] committed the offence otherwise. Their attitude was reminiscent of the horror they
display when a man kills his father or a full brother, and represents a much stronger
reaction than is manifested when a man kills an agnate of, say, the third or fourth
degree. They have every reason to be disturbed by the killing of a mother's brother,
[604] for, whatever personal affections may be involved, a crucial link is threatened. Their
reasoning, however, is that relationships with the mother's brother are characteristically
easy, that they are not demanding, that there is much joking in them, and that to

121 kill within this range is, in terms of the general pattern of behaviour, stupid. What is of
613 interest is that such killings do occur. I recorded three instances of men killing the
682 mother's brother in the contemporary population, not to mention many others
674 based on hearsay evidence only. Clearly, the relationship is more than a merely per-
missive one. The mother's brother may well be the only person who can help in
829 certain crises, and if he withholds his assistance the sister's son is left in a dilemma.
604 The form of behaviour in which demands are made is, as the Bedouin rightly say,
121 that of asking a favour, but this does not mean that it is any the less urgent than a
613 demand made against agnates. The range of favours is large, and only a few can be
604 detailed here. If a group has insufficient water to meet its needs a man first seeks help
from his mother's brother. The request has a number of aspects to it: it is a test of
[554] the relationship itself; it is a matter of pride and status that a man can 'call' on
another to help his group out of difficulties, it is an assurance that resources other than
those jealously guarded by his agnates are available to him, and if a man is seeking
to increase his power he must have available more than an agnate's share of local
[682] water resources to supply his flocks and herds. When a blood-money payment has to
be made, the mother's brother is expected to come forward—it is his right to give
[584] without being asked. If a man wants a wife, he is not permitted to approach his father
directly, but his mother's brother can put pressure on the father instead. If a man dies
[429] while his eldest son is still a minor, his brother may be required to act as guardian,
and in this role he controls the son's property; disputes frequently break out as a
result, with the son at a considerable disadvantage, for he cannot engage his father's
brother in hostilities—but his mother's brother can do so for him. Whenever men
[422] come to possess animals before the demise of their fathers or when the father's
brother is acting as guardian they mark them with the tribal and personal signs of their
[583] mothers' brothers. Men have the right to demand contributions for bridewealth
from their agnates if they lack wealth; in practice it comes not from them, but from
the mother's brother. Finally, in certain circumstances, if a man does not have male
heirs, his sister's son might inherit all his wealth.

121 Affinity also carries with it a large number of rights. A poor man may take up
613 residence in the camp of his father-in-law, and be kept by him. The latter may come
to his son-in-law's aid in many of his dealings with his father. Like the mother's
606 brother, the affine is a potential source of water-supply when rain has been insufficient
on the homeland. He also helps with blood money and bridewealth, and he is expected
to aid his daughter and her husband with gifts of food and wool.

121 The details given above by no means exhaust the list of rights a man possesses in
613 his matrilateral and affinal relatives. Obviously, these are not the only forms of
relationship either, and the other forms carry with them yet other claims of various
sorts. Enough detail has been given, however, to make clear the point that local
agnatic groups are so differentiated, and inter-group relationships are so important,
that each aspect of homicide settlement previously described will require further
examination, not in the sense that additional complications must be introduced, but
with the question in mind, is not the structural presentation false? Before beginning
this stage of the argument it is necessary to establish the fact that the links of affinity
and matrilaterality which a group has with another are of a kind which necessitate
their inclusion in an analysis of the arrangements for settling homicides.

● 613 Among the Bedouin, men are permitted to marry their father's brother's daughter
582 and any other cousin of similar type within the local agnatic group. This means that
121 most agnates will be related in other ways as well. Parallel-cousin marriage has the effect of diversifying the agnatic group, and creates small nuclei within it, each having its own characteristics and patterns of behaviour with others. Diversification of this kind leads to a differentiation between homicides within the tertiary group.

The Bedouin say that they always marry their parallel cousins, and do not give their daughters to others if they can help it. Census data does not support this view. Nearly as many men find wives outside their agnatic group as within it. Of importance in the present context is the direction taken by these external marriages. Perhaps
121 the most striking feature is that the number of marriages with men of a collateral
582 tertiary group is low, so low that they can be explained by special circumstances.
628 Now collateral tertiary groups whose territories are adjacent experience intense day-
613 to-day relationships. In the context of descent these are the most closely linked
[621] lineages—among older men there may be the recollection of the time when the two constituted a single community, and when they all lived together in the same summer camp. Common sentiment between them is very strong. The strips of territory they inhabit may be almost identical. Their discreteness lies almost entirely in the possession of separate natural resources, although in some cases pastures are shared. But their social boundaries are nevertheless sharply drawn, for the high incidence of parallel-cousin marriage within them, and the tendency for external links to leap-frog collateral segments, gives them a definition which could not be bettered by exogamy.
121 The basis of their discreteness lies, of course, in the competition that exists between
628 them for natural resources; however much the Bedouin protest that their real enemies
613 are the secondary or primary groups lying some thirty to fifty miles away, when they wish to enlarge their resources there is little point in attempting to capture a well a
578 long distance away, which cannot be defended, and might be located alongside an enemy group. They do, it is true, engage in competitive hostilities over land and water situated some distance from their homeland, but when they engage in these activities they do so on behalf of a linked group, albeit with their own interests uppermost. The capture of natural resources for use by a tertiary group can only be achieved by an enlargement of its homeland, and this is only possible by expanding into a neighbour's territory.

121 Another feature of external marriages is that they are not spread among as many
613 groups as in societies where there are exogamous clans, and where other rules of marriage appear to compel the maximum amount of dispersal. Instead, the external
582 links created through marriage are highly selective, and are thrown out into ecologically differentiated areas, giving added economic security, or, in the case of date oases, an additional item to the diet at a time of the year when it is sorely needed. Once established these external links are perpetuated through cross-cousin marriages in successive generations. If the link is considered valuable, and relationships develop satisfactorily, other marriage connexions will be woven around the first. Multiplicity gives added strength and durability, not in the mechanical sense of duplication, but of creating a more diverse kin structure, with its greater range of rights and claims, in which links can flourish. While the number of groups linked in marriage are few, the geographical spread is great. Marriage links exist with tertiary sections of colla-

121 teral secondary sections, with collateral primary sections, and long distances away
613 into other tribes. This spread can be interpreted as giving each tertiary group access
582 to resources of wide ecological diversity. What is of interest in the present context
is not the interpretation of the links but the effect they have on behaviour. Spread
means that a group can call for help from a number of differently situated groups.
121 Each one of these links not merely modifies the structural means for settling homi-
613 cide, but converts the homicide into a sociologically quite different sort of act. It can,
582 as the Bedouin like to think, be an act of merit for a man to kill another from a feud-
ing secondary section, but there is no merit whatsoever in it if the tertiary section of
578 that secondary section happens to contain affines or maternal relatives; this is a sinful
682 act. The Bedouin themselves recognize this when they add to their structural
explanation the rider that they do not feud with cognatic relatives. The difference
between their position and a sociological one is that they see this as a contingency not
as a persistent necessity; they are able to maintain their position because they see their
behaviour as explicable in terms of the simple ossified structure of their genealogical
relationships. What they fail to appreciate is that these 'contingencies' are ecologi-
cally, economically, demographically, and politically essential. They are able to main-
tain their position also, because the model of a lineage structure they use, along with
the two riders previously mentioned (see p. 270) affords them a kind of explanation
for most occurrences. The argument is attractive both to Bedouin and to anthro-
pologists because it is comprehensive and neat in its logicality. The next stage in the
argument is to show that there is a far greater range of possible consequences to a
homicide than those summarized in the diagram (see p. 269) and that the additional
consequences are related, not to the lineage structure, but to the linkages which have
been discussed above.

121 I begin with a review of a homicide which involves two men of the same tertiary
613 section. Bedouin classify all homicides within this range—as they do for any of the
682 structural orders—as undifferentiated, but in each case, different sorts of relatives
829 are concerned in the ensuing hostilities, and the consequences are, therefore, different
also. Bedouin say that a man never kills his father or full brother. In the event of a
man killing another man acknowledged to be his father, the act itself proves that he
cannot possibly be his son. He is said to be illegitimate, thus making his mother an
adultress and relieving the males of the agnatic line of the responsibility and the
121 odium. If a maternal uncle of the agnatic group is killed, the offence is almost on a
613 par with that of patricide or fratricide. When, however, the homicide is between two
men who are agnatically distant, and not closely related cognatically either, but both
682 are members of the same local agnatic group, what follows will depend largely on the
size and stage of development of the group; if it is small, the homicide threatens to
wreck it, but if it is large and on the verge of splitting the homicide may be the
occasion for split taking place and being recognized publicly by a demand for blood
money. Threatened with wreckage, a small group meets a homicide by closing its
ranks for self preservation; a large group splits. The same event within the same
kind of structural unit results in two quite dissimilar consequences. The reason is
clear enough—the two groups are similar only in a general structural way, but
sociologically they are not comparable.

When a homicide occurs between tertiary segments the solution, it was said earlier,

121 is found in either a vengeance killing or a blood-money agreement which later becomes
613 caught up in a wider set of debt relationships. Records show that this is true in some
682 cases, but in others the blood money is paid in one instalment and immediately. The recognition of a debt and its liquidation among the Bedouin is tantamount to a declaration of hostility, since without a debt the means for smooth-running relationships is lacking. Such a blood-money payment was made between two tertiary groups in the absence of the 'owner of the blood'; when he returned he sought out his brother's killer, and took two lives for one. Subsequently, there was a further blood-money settlement but there remained 'a man left over'. In other circumstances an annual payment, called *sana'*, is demanded in addition to the prompt and full payment of the blood money. The attachment of the *sana'* to a settlement is an invidious condition since it is regarded as a fee by those who have to pay it, it is said to lower the status of a group and ' one day, it must be repudiated '.[1] It may, circumstances permitting, serve to cast off all pretence of friendly relationships. It is more likely that it will lead to a further outbreak of hostilities. When I witnessed the payment of the *sana'* the terms in which it was demanded were: ' You have a man on your backs. Are you going to repudiate this or are you going to give me *sana'*? If you repudiate, we must seek vengeance.' The payment, one in a long series, was made on that occasion but there were loud grumblings among the men of the camp against their leader for his acquiescence and one suggested that they terminate the payments forthwith by shooting the claimant. Of the three forms of blood money cited, this latter is the extreme to which groups can go short of open feud. Its opposite is a blood-money payment which is mainly left as a debt, and which is accompanied by the ' gift ' of a wife to the victim's group.[2] The wife is ' given ' as an earnest that the offender's group wishes the full restoration of relationships ruptured by the homicide. There are, therefore, four forms of blood-money payment. The Bedouin view of these is that they are variants of what is, in principle, the same thing. Their view cannot be accepted. Each of the four payments points to diverse kinds of social relationships between groups, and their consequences are wholly disparate. These various kinds of relationships between the tertiary sections of the same secondary section exist because the relationships between all sections cannot possibly be the same if they are more than a pair in number. A secondary section which spans ten tertiary sections is not the same type of unit as one which spans only three. The greater the number of tertiary sections the greater the possible permutations in their relationships. What the Bedouin think of as variations in the form of blood-money
829 payment is related to the complexities that lie behind their simple lineage model. Bedouin can comprehend this complexity only by thinking in terms of a kind of average behaviour, regarding deviations from the average as fortuitous and explicable by the faulty reasoning that ' in this particular case, it just so happened ' that this, that, and the other were part of the situation, failing to appreciate that apparent aberrations are constants to the extent that some sort of specifics occur in all cases. There is no reason why Bedouin reasoning should be followed in sociological analysis.

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[1] See Peters, 1966.

581 585 [2] A marriage is not legal unless at least a promise to hand over wealth has been made beforehand. In the case cited the amount promised would be no more than a token—a sheep or a goat.

The consequences of homicides in which secondary groups are concerned present 121
an even greater variety, for now the span has expanded to include many more groups, 613
with a total population of several thousand people. Groups of this order are spread 682
over a much wider territorial range; some structurally distant groups are neighbours
by virtue of their propinquity, while some structurally proximate groups are far
removed territorially. Some feuds lie dormant for long periods. Others erupt [578]
frequently. Some homicides between these groups are followed by the 'laying down
of the denial '—the feud situation with most acrimony built into it, for one denial,
followed by a vengeance killing, is met by a second denial and so on, excluding thereby
any chance of a settlement. In other circumstances the offender's group boast that
they are responsible for a homicide, thus challenging the victim's group to a show
of force. Only the more powerful tertiary groups would venture to do this, and it is
only they who could meet a homicide against them with a spectacular show of force,
compelling a weaker tertiary group (according to hearsay evidence) to break up and
leave its homeland. The modes of killing in homicide differ in character. Some killings
have been heinous and offensive in terms of general morality; their purpose is to
sting the victim's kin to retaliate or to cause them to suffer general discredit and loss
of status. While some parts of secondary segments are at feud, others are not.
A homicide between affinally or matrilaterally linked groups, whether they are
secondary or primary groups, is settled as quickly and as amicably as possible to
prevent turmoil in their relationships. Feud concerns two tertiary sections, not the [578]
opposed secondary sections of which they are parts. Blood money and vengeance is [628]
not the responsibility of secondary sections, but of their respective tertiary sections.

At this point, a further statement concerning the external marriage links of tertiary 121
segments throws further light on the feud. Previously it was stated that the competition
between collateral tertiary groups for natural resources is indicated by a low 613
rate of marriage between them. Their external marriage links reinforce the separation. 582
One tertiary section, A, takes some of its spouses from section X of a collateral 578
secondary section; A's collateral, B, takes some of its spouses from X's collateral, Y.
A may be at feud with Y and B with X. The agnatic links between A and B, and X
and Y do not mitigate the severity of the hostility in the two feuds, they exacerbate
it. It would be erroneous to think of them as cross-cutting ties which promote peace.
Stultified in the development of their hostilities by virtue of their territorial proximity
and the sentiment associated with putatively close agnatic connexion, A and B are
able to express hostilities indirectly through their linked groups X and Y respectively.
During discussions of disputes, homicides, or rival claims to water, whether the disputants
meet in the camps or in administrative offices in the villages, men from the
matrilateral and affinal groups of the parties directly concerned are also present to do
most of the shouting. In some cases I recorded a maternal relative was killed on
behalf of an agnatic group to which he did not belong, although the latter accepted
the responsibility. In the light of facts of this sort the lineage model obstructs analysis.

I now wish to make a few brief remarks about the relationships between collateral 121
primary sections and paired tribes. Homicide, it was asserted earlier, results in raids
and war between groups of these orders of segmentation respectively. Evidence 619
can be adduced to show that both consequences have followed. The case usually 682
cited to demonstrate that a single killing precipitates war between tribes is the 726

121 celebrated war between the 'Abaidat and the Bara 'asa tribes occupying a large part
619 of central and eastern Cyrenaica. This war took place a hundred years ago, so that the
682 evidence is mainly hearsay, but it is significant that when asked for details of the
726 groups taking part the Bedouin make it clear that the entire tribes were not at war—
[173] some sections on both sides are said to have remained on friendly terms. Yet when
121 wars are discussed in a general fashion, the Bedouin insist that tribes confront each
619 other as such. If it is pointed out to them that men might be ranged against their
726 maternal relatives the Bedouin mumble apologetically that they would not kill their
maternal relatives—a lame argument since in the heat of battle men cannot make this
602 kind of discrimination. Details of other wars also illustrate the point that only parts
of tribes face each other in strife, for though the stories of past events may be
inaccurate there is genealogical evidence to substantiate their claims that certain groups
were linked in the past, and in any case their statements assert that where these links
exist they are not prepared to engage in hostilities. The several parts of each tribe,
121 like the parts of primary and secondary sections, have as many different sorts of
619 relationships as there are groups, and the general statement that tribes are warring
571 units merely obscures the interest there is in their relationships. Tribes, further, lack
the leadership to make war. I repeat that leadership does exist, but not even the
121 greatest leaders, past or present, can rightly be described as leaders of their tribes,
619 using the term in its structural connotation. Literature on the subject gives the
• 613 impression that there are tribal leaders, because successive administrations have used
554 the tribes and their divisions as a framework for attempting to rule the Bedouin, but
the details of the power domains of individual leaders make it clear that they have
little to do with the ordered divisions of tribes. A leader within part of one tribe may
carry with him tertiary sections of another tribe, and if major hostilities break out
between parts of these tribes, the sections of both which are joined as allies and
related as kinsfolk will not fight against each other, for sections so linked enjoy
stronger connexions than the structurally linked tertiary sections of a very large
[682] secondary section. Consequently the statement that homicide results in tribal war
[114] when the offender and his victim are members of two separate tribes is not merely
incomplete, not merely a simplification, it is wrong.

121 A point which has been implicit throughout the second part of this paper needs
now to be made quite explicit: groups do not come together in their respective
613 structural genealogical orders. During my entire residence in Cyrenaica I did not
571 see a group of agnates larger than a tertiary tribal section assemble for any purpose.
[114] It is true that the occasions when large groups are required to assemble are infrequent.
[648] It is also true that although the British Administration was serving a caretaker role
only, it may have had an affect on the nature of tribal gatherings. Despite this
qualification, there were several occasions when I expected tribal groups to assemble in
lineage order if the fusion of sections in relation to like sections has any meaning in
practice. Large groups of men did gather to dispute claims to wells, to argue about
rights to ploughland, and to make peace. In every case that I recorded the agnatically
closest groups of the main participants were absent, while members of genealogically
more remote groups were present in strength. This statement applies to gatherings
[628] in the camps and in the administrative centres. One of the biggest gatherings I
witnessed assembled in an administrative office in a village near the coast in the

south-west of the country. Most members of the two tertiary groups directly concerned 121 in the dispute were present. The agnates of the collaterally linked groups of 613 the principals were unrepresented; indeed collaterals of one of the principals made 571 it quite explicit that they were opposed to their genealogical allies and considered 628 their perusal of the matter tiresome. The bulk of the crowd present was made up of men linked to the principals in a variety of different and non-agnatic ways, and it was they who provided most of the argument once the issue had been opened. It 121 follows, therefore, that an analysis of political organization and behaviour in Cyrenaica 613 which is based on lineage theory leads to a gross misrepresentation. For, what 114 I am arguing is not that the lineage model in its rarefied state is too simple, not that additional facts must be injected into it to complicate it, but that it does not provide an admissible basis for analysis.[1] The complication of something that is founded in error can only lead to complicated error, however many facts of real life are introduced in an attempt to give it substance. The Bedouin conception of their social [829] relationships in terms of a genealogical ordering of groups is a fact of their social life, and in relation to some problems it is an important fact. My objection to the use which has been made of a people's ideology of their relationships is that it has been elevated from its status as a component of social life to such a position of universal dominance in all sets of social relationships that 'every sociological problem', as Fortes writes of the Tallensi, 'hinges on the lineage system'.[2]

If the ordering of groups within the frame of the Bedouin genealogy is abandoned 121 as a basis for analysis, it does not follow that the only remaining view is that of small 613 groups of people distributed throughout the country enjoying relationships merely 571 as units. Regularity in relationships does exist, it is urgently necessary, and it persists 578; but this regularity is not consistent with a lineage model. Ultimately, feud is a violent form of hostility between corporations which has its source in the competition for proprietory rights in land and water. This competition makes it necessary for groups to combine to prevent the encroachments of others in similar combinations and also to expand their resources whenever the opportunity arises. The significant groups in a discussion of the feud are these power groups, and it is their composition, the shifting alliances within them, the growth and diminution in the power of tertiary

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[1] Dr. Paul Bohannan has distinguished in his writings between what he calls folk systems and analytical systems. The distinction, as he sees it, is set out clearly in the statement 'a certain field of Nuer relationships is explained by Nuer in terms of an agnatic genealogy. This is the folk system. The same field is explained, in English, by Professor Evans-Pritchard, as a lineage system based on the principle of segmental opposition. This is an analytical system' (Bohannan, 1957, p. 5). What is the difference? Is it only a difference of language? Bohannan's analytical statement is little more than a generalisation of what is in the folk system. An analytical system, in his hands, is a sophistication of a folk system, for it is the latter which provides him with his analytical framework. The act of creativity on the part of the social anthropologist about which he writes (Bohannan, 1963, p. 14) is the revealing of a folk system through analysis. But he does not depart from the framework set by informants—the 121 agnatic genealogy is the lineage, and the fission and 613 fusion of parts, the opposition of like segments and so on is explained by informants in different languages 114 as adequately as it is explained by social anthropologists in English. Bohannan's viewpoint 171 is made clearer, perhaps, in his discussion on the arrangement of facts relating to Tiv law. Here he considers what he should do once he has elicited all the facts, and he argues against setting them out as an arrangement of the procedural law of Tiv courts because, 'The error would be that the arrangement is not part of *the Tiv way of looking at it*, and hence would be false' (Bohannan, 1957, p. 69. Italics mine). Why? The Tiv are not the social anthropologists. Is the test of an analytical model its consistency with a folk comprehension?

[2] Fortes, 1945, p. 30.

121 sections constituting the combinations which makes the facts of feud intelligible.
● 613 Furthermore, several different types of power structures exist which serve the different
[571] interests of the people composing them, and these are interlinked in combinations
[578] of superior span. But the formation of these structures and the modes in which they
combine are quite unlike the articulations in a lineage system. Characteristically, the
segments in a lineage system are conceived of as building up hierarchically to span
what is spoken of as a total society, the apex of the system affording a spectacular and
fixed definition of its boundaries. Had I been using this concept in this paper the
[173] founding ancestress of the nine Cyrenaican tribes, Sa'ada as named by the Bedouin,
would have served this purpose and would have been given inappropriate prominence.
121 The views presented here have the consequences of retreating from a concept
184 of a total society. The people to whom the facts given are related are the camel-herding
tribes only. Some of them have relations of many kinds with the cow-herding
233 folk who inhabit the northern plateau area, and these relations are also significant
619 for the analysis of a wide range of problems; genealogically both cow and camel
herders are seen as part of a single structure, but the differences between them with
regard to their economy, the size, composition, and distribution of their residential
units, their political and ritual life is so great that to conceive of them as a single social
121 structure is not useful. Moreover, the far western tribal sections have relationships
619 of such urgency with their neighbours in Tripolitania (who are excluded from Cyrenaican
genealogies) that to cut off these relationships as lying outside Cyrenaican society
would be quite unwarranted. The same can be said of the relationships of the tribal
sections in the eastern part of Cyrenaica with their genealogical cousins, the Aulad
'Ali of Egypt, who, although residing across a national border, are closely linked to
some of the Cyrenaican Bedouin. Some tribes also have to rely on the people of the
southern oases for an item of diet and an outlet for surplus wool, and the net of kinship
is spread out to include them. In these cases they come into contact with other
[177] ethnic groups such as Berbers and Tibu, and through the oases they extend their lines
of communication southwards to Wadai, Chad, and Bornu. As an indication of the
effectiveness of these links, it is only necessary to add that people inhabiting Cyrenaica
make periodic and regular visits to these far southern places, and that in 1948 a
shaikh, living near Ajadabiya in south-western Cyrenaica, collected blood-money
contributions from kinsmen in Wadai. A single structure cannot possibly include,
for analytical purposes, these sorts of relationships.

121 Finally, it must be stressed that the facts given here refer to the period 1948 to
114 1950. Since then oil has been discovered in large quantities near the territory of a
[315] tribe where I spent most of my time while resident in the country, and where there
was one tin shack in 1950 there is now a modern port with roads extending southwards
from it into the wilderness. I see no reason to assume that social relations as
I observed them are present today or that they were the same at any time in the past
175 either. Before the advent of the Sanusi Order in the early eighteen-forties, it is known
795 that one lineage at least was dominantly powerful and that its leader tyrannized a
613 large part of Central Cyrenaica.[1] His descendants constituted a powerful group in

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[1] Smith and Porcher, 1864. These two archaeologists met this leader and continued their archaeological researches around Cirene only with his goodwill, although the site is not on the territory of his tribe as I knew it in 1950. They also speak of him as inhabiting a castle which also lies outside the

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

1950, but his kind of tyranny was absent from the Cyrenaica of that period. From the 795
mid-nineteenth century until the Italian invasion of 1911, the Sanusi Order estab- 175
lished itself, spread its lodges throughout the tribes and in other more remote lands [613]
until it became what Evans-Pritchard speaks of as a theocratic empire.[1] The lodges [778]
served as areas of sanctuary and their staffs adjudicated disputes. Leaders of the [793]
Order had the power to coerce and the Bedouin obeyed. They obeyed out of personal regard for some of them in 1950, but the religious authority previously used by the leaders had given way to the political power they now exercised as functionaries in
a state system. In the meantime, the country had been ravaged by the long Italo- [648]
Sanusi wars. Throughout the nineteen-thirties after suffering terrible privations and reduction in numbers through slaughter in war, death in concentration camps, and exile, the Bedouin were ruled by the Italians. During the Second World War the armies of three major contestants fought their battles where the Bedouin now tend their flocks and herds. After the war they were left to fend for themselves, with a minimum of administrative interference.

In the light of all this the conception of an equilibrium system is of little heuristic 121
value, still less its derivative concept of a repetitive system. This does not mean, however, that an account of part of the social life of the Bedouin as it existed in 1950 must be nothing more than a disconnected piece of history, unrelated to a prior state of things and wholly useless for the understanding of the contemporary oil-producing cum mixed pastoral–agricultural economy. It would be little more than a piece of social historiography if the analysis was based on the concept of a total social structure of functionally interconnected parts, forming what Leach describes as 'a delicately balanced mechanism rather like the various parts of a wrist watch'.[2] Such a viewpoint would effectively exclude any possible comprehension of changes save those present as part of the dynamics of a system; its only answer to change is an account of a different system. If, instead, attention is focused on the analysis of a field of components arranged in a specific fashion to meet the interests of men at a particular time, it then becomes possible to see how a shift in their positions, the addition of new components, or the elimination of others produces this or that effect. It can make intelligible what has gone before, and if the future cannot be anticipated it can be demarcated within rough limits.

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modern territory of his tribe. See also Hamilton, 1856.

[1] Evans-Pritchard, 1949. In this book a brilliant account is given of the development of the Order, and how it came to unify and provide centralized political leadership for the tribes. [175] [795] [613]

[2] Leach, 1961, p. 6.

571 between man and man, although the various cereal dishes which constitute
231 their regular meals are said to have a similar effect.
264 The son who continues to eat with his father "as he always had been
182 doing," also continues to accept his authority. Indeed he could do little else
593 at this stage, for he lacks the economic means to cut away. Neither at marriage
585 nor after is there any transfer of wealth from father to son. The new
182 tent recently pitched is no more than a dormitory to which the young couple
[425] retire at night. During the daytime the son is still to be seen in his father's
[556] tent, and, in the male quarters, things appear to be much the same as before.
In the female quarters, the only superficial change is the more frequent appearance
among the women of one who, before marriage, often sat among
them if she had been a close neighbour or a close cousin previously; or of
an additional helper if she had come from afar. On the surface things remain
"as they always have been," although in fact, a whole set of changes
have been initiated.

852 *Rites de passage* are few among the Bedouin. A man's progress in life is
881 ceremonially marked by only four events: his birth, circumcision, marriage
764 and burial. His development into manhood is not marked by clearly defined
stages. About the age of seven, the henna markings on the front of a boy's
858 shirt for protection from the evil eye are not renewed, the cowrie shell stitched
789 to the front of his cap as a kind of talisman against the evil eye is removed
857 and he is no longer permitted free access to the women's quarters. As he
233 grows older, he will be instructed in goat-herding, and later taught to follow
the sheep. In his late teens he will have to undertake the more arduous and
883 responsible task of herding the camels. Coincident with camel-herding, he
233 may be given a gun by his father. Shortly afterwards he must undertake the
[431] stringent test of manhood, a journey to a distant oasis for dates. These
[411] changes are not marked off by a *rite de passage*. The rites a man undergoes
[484] during the course of a lifetime are minimal, and in the sense that they are
[885] concerned with only the basic events in a man's life anywhere (save for
852 circumcision, which is a minor celebration anyway), they are irreducible.
88 Moreover, the rituals which exist do not comprehend the same multiplicity of
776 relationships as rituals which occur in many other African societies.[4] It is
[771] true that the ceremonies referred to in this chapter by no means include
all the Bedouin rituals. It is also true that the events mentioned vary in
[554] elaboration, and in the number of symbols present in them, but they are
not multiplied or reduced for different people.

● [613] In this context it is important to stress that we are here dealing with a
lineage society where social differentiation is not built up into differences
[554] of rank, where the roles to which a man succeeds are almost wholly captured
[602] by his kinship relationships with other men and which are sociologically
to be distinguished from the roles a man enters into by acquisition of office,

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[4] See, for example, the elaboration of rituals discussed in M. Gluckman (Ed.), *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations.* Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1962.

membership of associations and so on. The statuses a Bedouin achieves de- 796
pend not on an ordered acquisition through the inheritance of roles or elec- 852
tion to them, but on his personal manipulation of linkages in his jockeying 88
with others. Rites are minimal because there are few defined statuses an 554
individual can predictably acquire. The equalitarianism of the desert denudes 602
the Bedouin of ritual riches. Complimentarily, rites which do occur are 613
thrown into exaggerated relief by the absence of others, and in their isolation, [557]
become not merely a "passage" but a cataclysmic change. Marriage and
burial both comprehend limited fields of relations, but accompanying cere- 585
monies may bring several hundred people together, people who otherwise 764
rarely gather in these numbers to meet one another as kinsmen and neigh- 796
bours, and it is suggested that the emphasis given to the events dramatises the 602
significance of the changes they produce. In the discussion of the changes 182
brought about by marriage, the Bedouin view of what is entailed will be
considered first.

The Bedouin View of Marriage

After marriage, the Bedouin argue, a son has a tent of his own, a woman 585
over whom he has authority and soon children to make him a father. Mar- 581
riage causes split, branching. A new family is created, holding the poten- [613]
tial of a new lineage. The separation is so painful a matter for the father
that he cannot contemplate it, hence his pretence that he has no knowledge of [593]
wedding festivities, and his subsequent attitude that nothing has happened.

Interestingly, there are two other occasions when this attitude is to be 682
observed. When a man kills within his corporate group,[6] he may flee his 613
tribe or he may be compelled to leave; later he is likely to return and, when 621
he does, he is received with a minimum of show. Every attempt is made to
suppress knowledge of the event.

Again, if incest occurs, the memory of it must somehow be suppressed, and 835
it is an ever-present danger. Men, permitted four wives simultaneously and 561
also able to engage in a plurality of marriages through divorce or death of [595]
spouses, may have children showing an age difference of two or three gen-
erations. Thus it comes about that a man may be of an age in relation to his
father's sister which permits them as children to behave as if they were
first paternal cousins. As an adult, the preferred spouse for a man is a [582]
father's brother's daughter. In terms of relationships between adolescents
the situation in which a man is of the same age generation as his father's
sister is fraught with danger. In one such case, between a man and his [684]
father's sister, the male child of the union was put out in the desert to be

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[6] Bedouin are disposed in groups which, in summer, usually constitute a single community, around or near a watering point. The men of this group are interlinked by reference to an ancestor four or five ascending generations, reckoning from the generation of men of about 20 years. When, elsewhere in this chapter reference is made to corporations, it will be to groups of this kind.

835 devoured by wild animals, the girl was "given"[6] to a close cousin who had
561 shot his sister. Both now reside with an enemy tribal section. The two acts
684 were equated. They were similar to the extent that both created a situation which defied institutional resolution. The culprits were exorcised. The girl's lover remains with his group — the odium for the male is incomparably less than for the female, since, while maternity is easy to establish, paternity is frequently shrouded in doubt — and during the months I lived with this particular group, there was never a mention of the affair. It was as if "nothing had happened."

829 If asked why these two events cause such profound distress, the answers
the Bedouin give are twofold: they can do nothing about them, and they
578 cause split. By split in this context they mean split in the lineage; split in
•613 the case of homicide because it may lead to a demand for blood-money which
[682] is payable only between corporations, and split in the case of incest because
[684] it causes chaos in relationships. Marriage, in one sense, their reasoning
581 runs, is similar, for it too causes split. Whatever may be the analytic strength
829 of the arguments that homicide and incest precipitate splitting, the argument that marriage does so is spurious. In what sense can marriage mean
613 split? Bedouin men marry "so that we may beget many sons, to make a big lineage later on." The worst fate that can befall a man as a result of his son's marriage is that he, in later generations, will become the focal point in a series of branching descent lines. The alternative — that his sons remain unmarried — can only mean that his name would disappear through want of successors to carry it on, which is one of the greatest evils which can befall a man, according to Bedouin sentiment: better split than oblivion. If the key to the interpretation of the father's attitude to his son's marriage is not
581 that it causes split, it must lie elsewhere in their relationship. What mar-
585 riage does is alter the distribution of authority between father and son. In
593 order to pursue this, it is necessary first to clarify the types of authority involved, and then assess them in a post-marital situation.

554

The Division of Authority Between the Family and the Corporation

851 Politically, a person's status is determined for him at birth. At this time a man has the right to accept or deny paternity. Denial is tantamount to an accusation of adultery by his wife. In practice, once a wife has given birth to a male child, whatever doubts people may harbour regarding paternity, the husband accepts the child as his. "The boy for the bed," is a saying often heard among the Bedouin; but it remains the husband's prerogative to invest
[837] the child with legitimacy, hence, political status. Only if a husband becomes aware that he is publicly considered a cuckold, or if he catches his wife and a lover *in flagrante delicto,* is he at all likely to take action. Otherwise he may

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[585] [581] [6] A marriage is illegal unless it is accompanied by an agreement to transfer wealth to the girl's father.

indeed welcome unfaithfulness on his wife's part. If a man is very old, and 554
his wife very young, it is likely that she will entertain lovers; if a man leaves 851
camp for a long absence his wife may not remain chaste. In both cases, if 837
the liaisons lead to the birth of a child, particularly a male, the husband
greets the news with unrestrained enthusiasm — "praise be to God," as their
saying goes. Incapacity[7] to produce offspring, if a husband is convinced of
it, may lead him to delegate a kinsman to serve his wife for procreative purposes:
he has the legal authority, as husband, to do so, and to require his
wife to submit, for the only alternative, if he is not to die without "issue,"
is to "take" a son from his brother and fulfill the obligations towards this
boy required of a pater, namely, attend to his circumcision, provide him with
teaching in the Koran (a duty neglected by most) and give him the wealth
with which to marry.

Granting the acceptance of paternity, whatever the circumstances of con- 593
ception, a male child, *ipso facto*, acceeds to membership of a corporation, and 554
is subject to the authority of that group in a number of matters. In many [851]
situations it would appear that a son is under the father's political control. [613]
At a moot, the son, if he speaks at all, will do so only to corroborate his
father. Discussions among men in a small camp evoke a similar pattern of
behaviour. Until the father becomes senile or dies, a son cannot publicly
pursue an independent course, but he desists by virtue of his relationships
with his father *qua* pater, not because of his father's political power to
coerce. All men of a corporation, in any event, "speak with one word" at [613]
a moot, and a son, by his assent to the common view, also supports his
father; in so doing he yields to the political authority of his corporation, and
not that of his father.

Membership in the corporation invests a man with other privileges and 593
duties. Protection against external enemies comes within the corporation's 613
jurisdiction, although in a particular situation, the father may well be the
person who dispenses it. Complimentarily, if a man commits an offense
against a person not of his group, whatever private thoughts his father may [681]
have about the act, the responsibility lies not on his shoulders but on the
group, and he is compelled to share this responsibility equally with all other
members. For example, if a son commits a homicide the father bears the [682]
same legal responsibility for the act, and is under obligation to contribute the
same share of blood-money as he would be if the act had been perpetrated
by any male of the group other than his son. Even in a narrower field of
relations between father and son the group exercises its authority. Acting
as pater, a man may punish his son, physically or otherwise; he may not
do so to the point of injury, for personal injury comes within the legitimate
sphere of the corporation. A man's "bone" belongs to his group; he is an in-

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[7] Impotency is a special case, because it is dishonourable for a woman to remain [833]
wife to an impotent man. She cannot divorce him, but her father can insist on a
witnessed test of impotency and, if it is proven, the husband is compelled to divorce [586]
her. Barrenness, obviously, is a different matter.

593 tegral part of "the one body"; events which affect a man in this context lie
613 outside a father's field of jurisdiction. The political authority vested in a
corporation acts to circumscribe the authority of persons in other fields.

Other rights stem from political membership. As a person with a defined
position in a lineage corporation, a man has the right to use the
natural resources of its territory. His father, although he instructs his son
where to plough and when to water the animals, cannot deny him access
to wells, pastures and ploughland. Economically, a son is independent to this
extent, although his ability to exploit his right to the natural resources is
restricted by his father's control of animals. Ultimately, however, this restriction
cannot amount to stultification, because a man has the right to
613 demand food. In practice, a poor man staves off hunger with donations from
422 this or that individual, and superficially it appears that he is dependent on
735 the personal charity of his fellowmen. This is not so, for what is implicit is
that the parcels of wealth controlled by individuals are the possessions of
the corporation. It is not accidental that poor people do not go hungry.
During my entire stay among the Bedouin I never saw one of them beg or
[556] suffer hunger, however marginal the diet of many. Clearly, those with a
surplus can and do use it for personal advantage, but the extent to which
they can do so is circumscribed by the legal claims which members of a
corporation have on the parcels of moveable property held by each of them.

613 Control over the wealth, whether it be animals or the procreative functions
421 of women, rests, in the final analysis, in a corporation. Inheritance laws
428 specify that women are not legal heirs,[8] and that all male children are
[562] equal heirs. Women do, in fact, come to control property, and it is rare that
wealth is equally divided among male heirs. The precise details of inheritance
[593] may partly be decided by a father, but he is limited in his actions. Most
of the time inheritance disputes are not of the kind which require action by
the corporate group; a case which occured while I was resident with the
Bedouin did, however, invoke immediate action. A man, who had left the
desert to live in a village on the plateau, had only one daughter. He made
it known that he intended to will his entire property to his daughter. When
the news was brought to the camps of his fellow agnates, there was great
consternation, because, as became clear in their lengthy discussions, the
threat now existed that a substantial parcel of property would be removed
from the group, a threat made real by the proposed marriage of the daughter
[584] to a man of another tribe. The court would have to recognise the daughter's
right to some of the property, and the members of the group reluctantly had
to concede that there was little they could do about this, but they had one
[593] action left to them — they decided that her nearest agnate should demand
[584] her in marriage. Usually, the choice of husband for a daughter is a decision

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[771] [8] The Bedouin are Sunni Muslims, and, as Samusi, belong to the Maliki school in
[795] legal matters. According to court law, women are heirs. However, actual Bedouin
practice is contrary to law. For, if women were permitted to inherit, since many marry
[671] outside the corporation into which they were born, they could alienate its resources.

613
her father takes, but in certain critical situations he can be relieved of choice 593
if the interests of the group as a whole are at stake. [421]

Political authority is the preserve of a corporation, and its exercise leads [428]
to invasion of a man's authority in the field of domestic relations. This [584]
does not mean, however, that discrete areas of authority do not remain with
the father. In the tent his authority over his son is so overwhelming as to
keep the son in almost complete subordination. The son is referred to as a
slave, and in daily life he has to behave as one. He must obey every command,
for, were he to rebel, he would find little or no support among his
agnates, whatever the extent of the provocation. Retreat from his father is
hardly an alternative, since, while his father is alive, he has no animals of [422]
his own, and to leave camp would only mean that he would have to move
outside his group to seek employment elsewhere as a shepherd. If he did [558]
this he would forfeit status, and almost certainly cut himself off from property [428]
which would fall to him after his father's death. A man who "denies"
his father looses too many privileges for the practice to become widespread.

Caught in this dilemma, a son's predicament is worsened by the fact that 593
he cannot initiate marriage negotiations — to be able to do so requires some 584
animals to offer a girl's father. Through his mother's brother he has the [431]
means of bringing pressure to bear on his father, but the latter can resist for [604]
years. Finally, a marriage is arranged for him. It is difficult to convey the 581
yearning of young Bedouin for marriage. They discuss it among themselves 521
ad nauseam. For the most part their talk is about the sexual aspect of marriage. 831
Premarital sex relations are strictly controlled, and the movements
of each young girl are carefully guarded because, if on the day of her marriage 836
the test shows that she is not a virgin, she not only brings disgrace to [585]
her family, but the marriage may be revoked and her worth as a bride for
another man seriously diminished. Nevertheless premarital relations do [837]
occur, if not between youths and maidens to any extent, between young
men and married women.

The question still remains: why is marriage the occasion of such ebullient 581
celebration? The formal authority a father exercises over his son 593
changes little on marriage. Economically the son is still harnessed to the
father. The latter still shouts his orders at him, and obedience remains
unaltered. Any sign of an independent view on a matter is met with a gruff
rebuff. If the marriage turns out to be disagreeable to the father, he has
the authority — if not always the power — to break it. Marriage does not
mean a change in the general mode of behaviour between the two; the legal
relations remain unaltered, albeit modified in practice, as the married son
matures in age. But marriage does mean the acquisition of rights and status
previously denied a son. Henceforward, he has a domain of his own. This
is high drama, indeed, for although every effort is made to give substance to [554]
the expressed view that "nothing has happened," for the first time in his
life the son has seized publicly, amid the jubilations of his fellows, a status
which hitherto was the possession of the father.

daughters of agnates and, in view of the high agnatic concentration, the 582 daughters of agnates who are co-residents as well. Parallel-cousin marriage 602 therefore creates affinity between co-resident agnates.

The rate of parallel-cousin marriage is high, producing such a density of kinship relationships as to afford a reliable index for defining the agnatic corporation. As a form of marriage it persists; genealogical records clearly demonstrate this. Frequency of parallel-cousin marriage taken together with its persistency, means, above all else, that it makes an agnatic group a cognatic group as well. The matter is put in this way to suit the general development of the argument, but it would be a serious error to think that this means I am giving priority to agnation and that I am considering cognation as intrusive, or that, in this society, agnation can stand on its own because it has a kind of absolute significance other forms of relationship do not possess. Both forms exist in reality.

The great Bu Bakr of Cyrenaica's most celebrated lineage is alleged to have [613] exhorted his fellow tribesmen to "marry your father's brother's daughters and then your paternal relatives and your maternal relatives will become one." Whether he had given the advice or not, the Bedouin, as their society is constituted, would marry them anyway. The Bedouin form of agnation without its accompanying parallel-cousin marriage would impose impossible restrictions, if indeed there is any point in attempting to conceive of a situation so remote from reality. With parallel-cousin marriage present in the corporate group, men referred to as agnates are not agnates only; each and [613] every one of them is the centre of a bundle of roles, each role potentially [554] as important as the other. It would be false to argue, moreover, that complexities of relationships can be unravelled by analytically separating them, giving precedence to the agnatic role in an "agnatic" situation, the mother's brother's role in a domestic situation and so on. An agnate who is also a mother's brother is never the same, in any situation, as an agnate to whom one is not otherwise related. The prime significance of parallel-cousin marriage is that it creates a complexity of linkages which almost amount to con- [182] fusion, thereby maximising the choice available to individuals to meet whatever contingencies befall them.

The only area of relationships left relatively undisturbed by parallel-cousin marriage is the son, father and father's brother triangle. Freed of the complications stemming from parallel-cousin marriage, agnation can here approximate its true form. Other complications arise out of marriage. A 582 few are listed here: father and son marry a mother and her daughter; a 583 form of exchange marriage between first parallel-cousins occur; two brothers marry two sisters; the marriage of two brothers to two sisters is followed, in the succeeding generation, by the son of one union marrying the daughter of the other, making this latter a double first parallel-cousin marriage — both a father's brother's daughter's and a mother's sister's daughter's marriage. These forms can all occur within a corporate group. No citadel of agnation [613] can withstand this attack. All forms of marriage combine to break the grip [602]

582 of agnation on the members of a corporate group and give it a taproot of
583 diversity whence it derives its strength, and which makes of it "the one body,"
•613 conspicuous, in comparison with other societies, as the corporate group
602 *par excellence*.

The Sister's Son-Mother's Brother Relationship

128 Previously the mode of relationships associated with agnation and affinity
have been briefly discussed. In order to appreciate the effects of parallel-
cousin marriage, some remarks concerning the sister's son-mother's brother
604 set of relationships must be included here. Bedouin contrast the mother's
[174] brother with the father's brother; their sayings and proverbs afford a
wealth of verbal documentation on the contrast. With the mother's brother
a man enjoys all the freedoms he is denied in his relationships with his father
[831] and father's brother. He is permitted to joke with him; they indulge in
exchanges of obscenities. When the sister's son wishes to marry, he is
permitted to discuss the matter with his mother's brother and can urge him
to intercede with his father on his behalf. Two men thus related are readily
recognised in the camps, because in their acts they are required to show
affection by displays of innocent horseplay, pranks or mild practical jokes.
Small boys pursue their mother's brother, feign to kick or strike him, and he
takes it all in good part.

The external aspects of this behaviour is deceptive. Joking of this sort
creates the image in which the relationships are conceived; what is equally
striking in it is its compulsiveness. Obviously, mature men are not always
in the mood to be teased, but if they are, they must respond appropriately.
Their relationships are unmistakably onerous. This remark applies not only
to the external forms of their behaviour, but also to the favours a man is
[602] permitted to ask of his mother's brother. A brief amplification will make
the point clear. Demands can be made of agnates, but only in situations of
serious contingency. Day-to-day needs are met, not by appeals to the rights of
agnation, but from the expectations linked to the mother's brother. If these
expectations are withheld, the sister's son may be left in a quandary.
604 Interestingly, in the records of homicides I gathered, three (in the con-
682 temporary population) were concerned with the killings of mother's brothers
by sister's sons. Homicide within this field of relationship is difficult
to comprehend unless it is appreciated that expectations are as compulsive
in the daily life and the general well-being of people as are the rights and
duties associated with agnation.

604 These general remarks apply to the relationships irrespective of the lineage
613 origin of the mother's brother. The similarity ends there, since the nature
of the expectations, their urgency at any given moment and the kind of
favours which are granted vary with the group identity of the mother's
[428] brother. A mother's brother who is a member of ego's corporate group may be
expected to give the sister's son small quantities of flour, favour him in all

sorts of petty ways, listen to his grumbles about his agnates, interfere on his 604
behalf in petty camp quarrels, shield him from the disciplinarian father and 613
guard his property interests against the predatory father's brother; if the 428
mother's brother dies without heirs, the sister's son can reasonably expect at
least a share of his wealth. When the mother's brother is a member of a
different corporate group, a sister's son cannot possibly expect to inherit
from him in any circumstance.

The mother's brother may reside in a camp too distant to be much effective 604
direct help in day-to-day living. His relative remoteness gives the relationship 591
other possible opportunities, however. Rainfall in the semi-desert area 312
of Cyrenaica is highly variable, both from year to year, and from place to 233
place in any given year. As a result this shallow saucer of a depression may 241
have sufficient rain to supply both the water needs of animals and crops,
while an area a few miles distant will have inadequate water supplies for
either. The mother's brother-sister's son link can mean water for animals and
a crop of barley for both when, in successive years, the resources of one area
or the other are inadequate.

The differences in the relations between men and their mother's brother 604
do not end with a characterisation of their antipodal forms. The demographic
structure of a group may be such that one man may have a number
of mother's brothers, another only one; one man may have to share with
several brothers, another may be an only son. Complications of this sort determine [613]
the precise relationships between men, but however intricate these
may be, each corporate group has its matrilateral links with a group occupying
a slightly different ecological area, and it also has a plurality of matrilateral
connections within it. Further, if a direct connection is not available [603]
to any particular individual he can use an indirect link (e.g. father's mother's
brother or mother's mother's brother) to satisfy his needs.

The Preference for Males

Thus far, the family and the social matrix in which it is embedded has 128
been discussed in general terms, most particularly in reference to several
selected sets of relationships. I wish now to place these relationships in a
more specific setting with a brief discussion of the composition of a small
camp of a group inhabiting the arid areas of central Cyrenaica. When the 829
Bedouin give their views on the structure of the family in Cyrenaica they 594
speak of it as consisting of a pair of spouses and about ten children, mainly
males. The emphasis on males is not mere sentiment, overwhelmingly though 562
it favours them against females. Additional males in a family increase the 858
productive possibilities of a family in the sense that more herdsmen become
available and larger ploughing commitments can be undertaken; an increase
in the number of females has small effect on production since they are precluded
from any direct participation in these activities. Both sexes, ranging
in age from about seven years to mature adulthood, are necessary if a family

121 age depicted in their notion of a family is meaningful. It follows that, since
183 this unit will not be clustered in one tent, but distributed over several, each
594 small community must be so constituted that links people can use to claim
621 the services of others must exist, and that, since claims can be made against
various sorts of kinship relationships, each small camp will have predictable kin links. It follows, further, that since age, sex and number of people are significant, a small camp will have a characteristic demographic structure; each tent in a camp will display developmental changes, and particular tents may be shifted from one camp to another, but if a livelihood is to be gained in this semi-desert environment supporting its mixed pastoral-cum-agricultural economy, then at any given time the small camp must have certain fixed features in its composition. The elementary family is subject to far too many vicissitudes to exist on its own. It now remains to demonstrate this general argument by examining the details of one of these small camps.

A Particular Camp Viewed in Detail

621 The camp was one of 12 which constitute a minimal tribal section. In
•613 genealogical terms its male members were linked through an ancestor five
ascending generations from living males of about 20 years of age. Usually,
[221] in summer, camps of this sort move to the vicinity of a large watering point;
in winter, this larger community breaks up into a number of smaller ones
as man and animals move off further south to the pastures. The total living
[[162] population of the tribal section to which this particular camp belonged was
524.

621 Linked patrilineally, its male members were also linked in a plurality of
other consanguineal ways. Primarily, this plurality was brought about by
613 parallel-cousin marriage. The incidence of this form of marriage for
582 males of this group was 48 per cent[12] of the gross total of 234, derived
182 from their marriages over three generations; that is, the generation of males
entering into marriage, and the generation which has begun to die out are included with the generation of middle-aged males. This means that practically every male is related to others in a number of ways, and it is necessary to point this out now because the details to be given presently will show only the more immediate, but not all, existing connections. Plurality of links, moreover, is not the only consequence. Parallel-cousin marriage is a transmuting agent, creating a diversity of links. Each and every link carries with it specific modes of behaviour, which in turn means that each individual has a wide variety of different claims he can press on his co-residents. Marriage connections also exist with other sections of the same tribe. Their proportion is 28 per cent of the total. Demographically, it

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[12] As a matter of interest, the figure for marriage to the father's brother's daughter is 50 per cent of the figure for parallel-cousin marriage in general, but the consequences of these are beyond the scope of the present discussion.

would be impossible to satisfy all marriage expectations of men within the 621
universe of the minimal tribal section. For this reason alone external links 613
are inevitable and persistent. Also, the small territorial strip such a group 582
claims as a homeland produces an economy which, in this environment, 182
is unstable. Additional security is gained by making connections with other [423]
tribal sections, each with its specific ecological character. Men also marry [433]
into their client groups. The proportion of these for this camp was 9 per cent [619]
of the total. From these links they gain economic advantages, they can claim services and a client-following is politically significant. Finally, 7 per cent of the total[18] are marriages with women of other tribes, which again not only reduces the instability of the economy (in that a large tribal area suffering near-famine conditions has access to areas of markedly different ecology), but also provides political connections for men whose power ambitions have passed the point of leadership limited to their own tribes. In one way or another all these interests are manifest in the small camp and attention is now directed to the latter.

The disposition of people in the camp is represented diagrammatically 621
on the page following. 592

The nucleus of the camp is Tent A. Its owner (1) was a powerful *Shaikh*, [554]
the son of a famous father. His marriage represents a political link with a [619]
group of one of the primary sections of his own tribe. His father died only a [428]
few years before I recorded my census, and the large amount of moveable property he left had still not been divided among the sons; the owner of the tent, as eldest brother, still controlled the flocks and herds. Most of his time he spent away from the camp engaging in political intrigue. His two younger brothers lived in his tent, but the second (5) would not remain there long
because negotiations for his marriage had been started. His father (2) mar- [582]
ried a parallel cousin; she died and shortly afterwards he took her sister (3) [587]
in sororal union. When this occurred an amount of bride-wealth was
agreed, but instead of giving any of it to her father, the entire amount was [583]
"put in front of her" (that is, the animals were allowed to remain with her husband's flock), and these animals she had marked with her brother's
tribal sign to distinguish them from those of her husband. It was widely [428]
known that she was going to leave these animals to her husband's second [562]
son, for although she could not transfer them to a male outside her husband's corporate group, she could decide who, among his heirs, should inherit.

During my stay in this camp, her brother's son (4) came to it as a 621
temporary resident for a month. Since he was poor, the purpose of his visit 592
was to capture some of his aunt's wealth while she was still alive and the 574
possibility still existed. During his stay he was fed well but did no work. [604]
His kinsmen found his company tiresome, so, to cut short his stay, and after [431]
consulting her nominated heir (5), she gave him three grown goats. Also
when an occasion arose for an animal slaughter, she provided the sheep, and, [231]

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[18] **The remainder is made up of marriages to the daughters of men incorporated into the lineages.**

Cases

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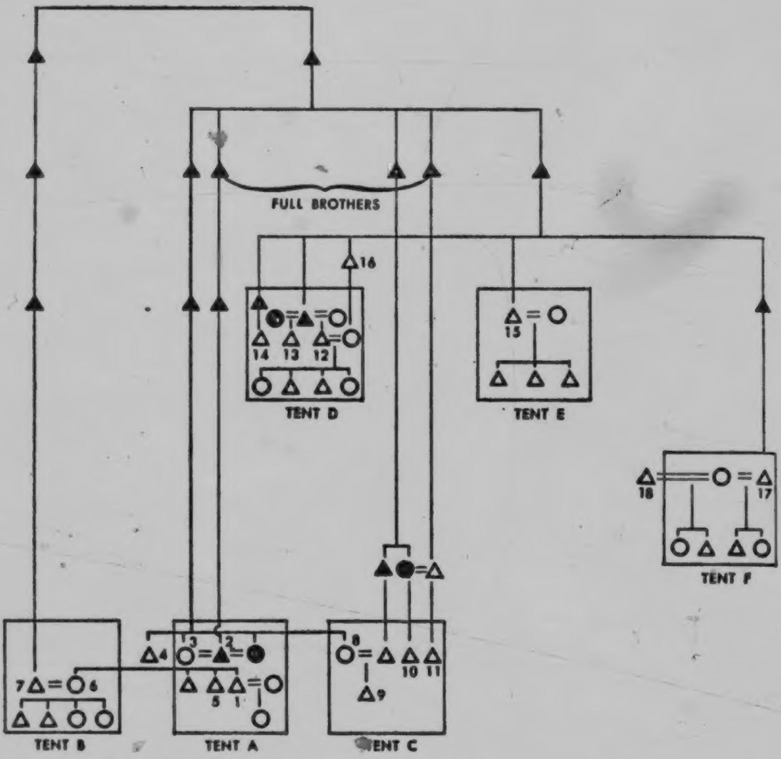

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592
574 since meat is shared by all the people of the camp, her wealth was partly
231 dispersed among her poorer kinsfolk.

621 The location of Tent B was determined by the fact that the wife (6) was
592 the sister of (3) of Tent A. Her husband (7) had moved into the camp a
571 few years earlier as a result of an inheritance quarrel with his elder who
[578] robbed him of his fair share. This husband (7) gained in two ways from
[233] the move. Although poor, he had a small flock of his own, too small to
justify its own shepherd, but which he was permitted to include with his
sister-in-law's (3) flock for shepherding. If the flock had been larger he
would still have had difficulties, because, at some times of the year, save for
short occasional visits to camp, the shepherd is with his sheep for several
weeks, day and night. He (7) had three sons, still far too young to follow
the sheep, but when they become of age to do so, his dependence on Tent
A will cease, for then he can begin to gather the small flocks of other kinsmen
around his own, his sons can shepherd them all and he can begin to
[574] enjoy the benefits to be derived from dependents. In addition, he enjoyed

the lavish generosity dispensed by the members of Tent A, and fed far better 621
than would have been possible otherwise. 592
The location of Tent C was also determined by a link through women. 571
The only female (8) living in this tent, a middle-aged widow, was the [574]
sister of (3) and (6) of Tents A and B respectively. Her teenage son lived
with her. They possessed only a few sheep, which were put with the flock of
Tent A for shepherding. The son (9) spent some of his time herding for
Tent A. With the mother and her son in Tent C were two other kinsmen.
One, a poor man (10), was this son's first patrilateral cousin, and they both
were the only surviving sons of their respective fathers. He (10) was the
main shepherd of Tent A. The third male (11), also poor and nearly
blind, was a second patrilateral cousin of both, but his sister was also 11's
mother. All occupants of Tent C were almost entirely supported by Tent A.
Relieved of the necessity to live off their own resources, the two young men
(9 and 10) were afforded the opportunity of building up their flocks for the
day when they would be able to negotiate their delayed marriages.

Tents A, B and C sheltered men who were agnatically closely linked. More 621
important, their grandfathers, three sons in a family of 19 children, were 613 •
full brothers. The latter's mother's name was used when referring to these 592
three tents as a group. During the past few years, many changes have 571
occurred within it, and the death of the pivotal woman (3) of Tent A might
well disperse this small cluster. Further, the nuptials of her heir (5) were
anticipated, and this event, itself likely to precipitate division of his father's
(2) wealth, might also lead to further residential rearrangements.

The owner of Tent D, (12), a man in his late thirties, son of a slave 621
mother, was at loggerheads with his father's brother, much more senior in age. 592
The owner's father, one of a family of 24 children, had been a wealthy man 604
and died leaving a substantial herd and a large flock, but he (12) was bereft 578
of most of this wealth by the father's brother. His first successful strike
against his uncle was the demand he made for his daughter as a wife. [582]
Earlier, when (12) had demanded his father's wealth, his father's brother, [428]
who had for years acted as his guardian, replied, "It is in your stomach,"
(meaning that it had been expended on his upbringing). Later, after the [583]
marriage had taken place, when the uncle demanded payment of the bride-wealth
his own words were thrown back at him, but this time with the
meaning that the bride-wealth had already been paid. While I was resident
in this area, the two men met occasionally: each meeting was hostile, for
(12) was encouraging his half-brother (13) (also the son of a slave mother)
to demand a second daughter as a wife. Included in this tent is a third adult
male (14), virtually a pauper, reduced to this state by the same grasping
father's brother. His link with (12) was their closeness of relationship (first [571]
paternal cousin), together with the fact that all three males (12, 13 and
14) had suffered privations and were allies against the common enemy, their
father's brother.

Associated with them for the same reason, was the owner of Tent E (15).

621 Genealogically he was their father's brother, but he was of their same age
592 generation, and behaved as if he was their agnatic equal. Towards his own
578 brother (16), he behaved as if the latter was his uncle, for he was much his
[604] junior in age and his uncle had virtually brought him up from boyhood.
They had quarrelled bitterly because his brother (16) had given him only
[428] a fraction of his inheritance, which he himself, in turn, should have
[593] shared with his young full brother (not shown on the diagram) but he did
not do so. This youngest brother left (15) for this reason and now resides
621 with (16), his full brother's enemy. Two of the men (14 and 13) of this
592 group of four were the chief herdsmen of the camp, although they were
[233] assisted for short periods by (12) and (15), who also helped tend the
[571] camels in other ways. Their connection with the group centered on Tent
A was a mutual close link to a politically powerful person (not shown on the
genealogies) to whom they are deeply loyal and who, while I was among
them, was actively opposed to the common political enemy of them all (16),
and who in earlier years had challenged the leadership of (2) of Tent A.
• [613] There is also the fact that they were all linked within a close range of
agnation. This linkage included, too, the owner of Tent F (17), not in
[602] fact the descendant of the man shown in the diagram — he was the son of
a slave wife; his genitor was a slave, but his mother's master reared him,
freed him and he is now given as his son in the genealogy. He lives with his
wife, of client origin, together with her children from a previous husband,
(18), who divorced her, and his own children. Aging, he no longer acted
as a regular herdsmen, but relieved other men in the camp, and also spent
some time shepherding.

621 The details given of the strands which run through the camp to tie these
571 particular people together are so few that, like the Bedouin plough, they do
no more than scratch the surface, but they are sufficient to permit a few
general statements. The camp, and particularly the precise disposition of
621 its tents, shows a group of males clustered together to share two of the main
571 economic tasks: shepherding and herding. The physically strong adult males
233 of Tents D and E shoulder the burden of herding all the camels of the camp,
462 and the men of Tents B, A and C shepherd all the sheep, with (17) of
Tent F serving both purposes. This number of men allows some to remain
in the camp at all times, to free one of them for a journey to the distant
market when supplies of sugar and tea are necessary, and to enable one or
two men, at short notice, to hurry away on horse or camel to search for
lost animals.[14]

621 Economic Determinants of the General Structure of the Camp

574 It is also clear from these details that, given the disparities in wealth
231 (although all men have some wealth), the diet of most is considerably
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43 [14] There is little point in seeking the lost animals themselves in the first instance.
A man travels from camp to camp asking for information, and when he has gathered
[556] his clues, he searches a neighbourhood.

ameliorated in its protein content, particularly by the generosity of the oc- 621
cupants of the nucleating Tent A. Not that they are the only ones who ever 574
slaughter their animals for food. Others do so, albeit much less frequently. 231
Whoever kills an animal, everyone present in the camp is given a share, and 262
the men always eat in the tent of the donor, sitting around one bowl. Thus, 431
the surplus that builds up at one point is redistributed among those suffering [556]
a shortage, and meat, in a society where the climate and way of life militate against its storage for more than a few days, is more efficiently used. Many other general economic points could be deduced. These general statements could, however, be made of practically any camp, whatever the specific differences.

Affinity and Matrilaterality in the Structure of the Camp

Economic considerations determine the general structure of these small 621
camps, but do not account for the particular people gathered in them. Per- 613
haps one of the most striking features of these camps, which comes out 602
clearly in the one discussed here, is the confined agnatic span which links the males. Lest it be underestimated, I wish to stress the profound significance of this fact. While granting its importance it is equally necessary to stress that the span, potentially, could be considerably reduced; in some camps it is. Many of the closer agnates of the men of this camp are not shown on the genealogy included with the diagram; (7), (15) and (16), for example, all have brothers, (12) has a large number of first paternal cousins and so on. Therefore, this particular cluster of agnates formed for reasons other than agnatic ties. The most direct single thread connecting Tents A, B and C is that which runs through women. Men of many other camps are all linked in this way, directly. Five tents of this camp are connected through a female link to a common ancestress, whose name still defines the group, two ascending generations for one adult male, three from others and four from others. If greater elaboration could have been shown on the genealogy without confusion, additional links through women could have been demonstrated. Affinity and matrilaterality are the prime movers in bringing agnates together as neighbours.

Other Factors Affecting the Structure of the Camp

Other considerations narrow the area in choice of residence. The quest 621
for power where every man entertains hope of achievement where ambitions 571
are not stifled by the rigour of rank and a small amount of wealth provides 554
a basis for a beginning is also a significant factor in considering the composition of camps. The generosity of the people in Tent A was not entirely altruistic. Justly, it had won them repute, but the repute itself was an important aspect of the political power they enjoyed. They also acquired the services of several men to manage their animals, an impossible strain for them alone. And with their shepherds and herdsmen they secured devoted followers. It was hinted in discussing the structure of the camp that changes